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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

IRAQ

PART 3

January to December 1949

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING

IRAQ—PART 3

E 74/1016/93

No. 1

POLITICAL SITUATION IN IRAQ

Intention of the National Democratic and Liberal Parties to Suspend Political Activities

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bavin. (Received 3rd January, 1949)

(No. 347. Confidential) *Bagdad,*
Sir, 17th December, 1948.

I have the honour to report that on 3rd December the National Democratic and Liberal Parties published lengthy statements in their respective party organs announcing their decisions to suspend activities as political parties. The main reason given by both parties for this decision was the antagonism with which all Governments had treated their activities since their formation. The Government of Tawfiq Suwaidi, under which they had come into being, was the only exception. The National Democratic Party's statement goes on to say that the existing abnormal situation, in which martial law is being used to combat people's organisations, suppress constitutional liberty and restrict party activities, has been given a false appearance of democratic normality by the continued functioning of the party. Rather than continue to give the present despotic régime the semblance of a democratic one, both parties have decided to suspend political activities. It is possible, as Nuri Pasha has hinted to me, that this will lead to the Ministry of Interior withdrawing their licences.

2. The background to the decision of the two parties is as follows: Kamil Chaderchi, leader of the National Democratic Party, announced at a meeting of the administrative committee of his party on 30th November that the membership had now dwindled to 103 owing to resignations occasioned by police persecution. Furthermore, the party newspaper was now in debt to the amount of ID.1,240. Chaderchi accordingly suggested a cessation of party functions in order to gain time for purging the party of police spies and for recruiting new members. Agreement was reached on this suggestion and Chaderchi approached Sa'ad

Salih to invite similar action by the Liberal Party. Sa'ad Salih agreed the more readily because the Liberal Party is also in debt and he himself is an invalid.

3. On 5th December the organ of the Independence Party commented sympathetically on the decision of the other two parties and endorsed their description of the difficult conditions under which the licensed parties are now operating. It announced, however, that the Independence Party would continue its political activities. There has been little other comment in the neutral press, though *Al Shaub*, which supports Saleh Jabr, mocks the parties for endeavouring to blame successive Governments for a failure which was their own.

4. The recent history of political parties in Iraq begins with the speech delivered by the Regent to the Cabinet and members of both Houses of Parliament at the Amanah Hall in December 1945 (see Bagdad despatch No. 535 of 31st December, 1945), in which he announced that parties would come forward with plans and programmes on which the nation would vote in the elections then expected. "The party," continued His Royal Highness, "which wins the people's confidence and support will rule and undertake responsibility for carrying out in its own way the national policy which will have been made clear to the electorate in its election programme." This was a clear invitation for the introduction into Iraq of normal democratic methods.

5. Nothing, however, was done to implement this invitation during the remaining life of the Government of Hamdi Pachachi, but Tawfiq Suwaidi, who formed the next Government on 23rd February, 1946, after a prolonged Cabinet crisis, announced in the internal policy programme of his

Government that permission to form political parties was among the means by which he hoped to restore normal conditions and abolish the special restrictions which war conditions had imposed on Iraq. Applications for permission to form parties soon followed and recognition was granted by the Ministry of Interior on 2nd April to five parties (see Bagdad despatch No. 143 of 17th April, 1946).

6. The Liberal Party, which was joined by most of the members of the Suwaidi Government after they left office, soon took on the aspect of a group of political personalities rather than of an organised party. It issued no programme and never commanded much public support. The programme of the National Democratic Party was reformist and included some mildly Socialist measures such as State ownership of public utilities and State control of banks. It advocated the distribution of State lands in small holdings and the limiting of the area of land which could be acquired in the future by a single individual; it condemned latifundia but contained no threat to break up the existing large holdings. In the political field it promised democratic representative government and the development of political party life, while its foreign policy was to be based on the "completion" of Iraqi independence and the strengthening of the Arab League.

7. The elections, which were to usher in parliamentary democracy in Iraq, did not in fact take place until March 1947, and it was not Tawfiq Suwaidi's Government but the next Government but one which conducted them. The intervening Government was that of Arshad al Umari, who declared on taking office that his Government was "neutral and transitional." To the parties at any rate it proved anything but neutral. It must be remembered, in Arshad's defence, that this was the period of strong Tudeh activity in Persia, of strikes in the oilfields and of the Russian puppet Government in Azerbaijan. Nevertheless, his persecution of the reformist parties, unaccompanied by any attempts at reform by the Government, was unwise. The Liberals were not greatly affected, but the National Democratic Party received its full share of Government hostility, its leader was brought to trial and its newspaper suspended.

8. After the fall of the Umari Administration another "neutral and transitional" Government was formed under Nuri Pasha, pledged to hold free and democratic elections. Nuri invited representatives of the

Liberal and National Democratic Parties to join his Cabinet. Both did so, on the written condition that the elections should be free. Both resigned within a month, complaining with some justification that other Ministers, notably Saleh Jabr, were manipulating the elections for their own purposes. It subsequently became clear that Nuri himself was hand in glove with Saleh Jabr. The elections were therefore begun in an atmosphere of frustration on the side of the parties and one of cynicism and intolerance on the part of the Government. Four of the parties decided to withdraw before the poll. The National Democrats alone participated and gained four seats out of 138. When the party decided that they should resign in protest at the conduct of the elections, three of them preferred to retain their seats and to resign from the party.

9. It seemed that the Iraqi electorate had struck the death-blow of the hopes of democratic political life and that they preferred the existing type of government to the programmes of the political parties. But, while this was true enough, there remained enough discontent in the country to provide a fertile field for party activity. What had happened was that the hopes entertained by the parties for co-operation with the ruling classes in reforming political life in Iraq and of introducing some reality into the fictitious democratic structure of the Iraqi State had been extinguished. They began to realise that they must henceforth work largely in opposition to the ruling class as a whole, but they clung tenaciously to the hope of benevolent neutrality from the Government.

10. During the rest of 1947 the parties, with the exception of the Istiqlal, were steadily losing influence. Impatience is a characteristic of Arabs and to bring about reforms in a constitutional manner in the teeth of administrative opposition was clearly going to take a long time. It is not surprising, therefore, that the extremists both of Left and Right began to gain support at the expense of the centre. This in turn gave the Government some justification for its hostility to organised political parties. The Shaab Party submitted a protest to Government in August complaining against Government persecution directed against any free expression of opinion. Both this party and the Party of National Unity were suppressed in September after police raids on their premises. There was a split in the National Democratic Party following an attempt by

Kamil Qazanchi to form a "fellow travelling" wing within it.

11. The agitation against the Portsmouth Treaty and the prolonged period of disorders which followed it gave an opportunity to the three remaining parties to try to strengthen their position. They played their part in the demonstrations and on 28th January issued a manifesto making the following five demands:—

- (1) Repudiation of the Portsmouth Treaty.
- (2) Investigation into police responsibility for injuries or death to the demonstrators.
- (3) Dissolution of the Chamber and new elections.
- (4) Respect for constitutional freedom.
- (5) Solution of the bread grain crisis.

The first three of these demands were eventually conceded, but the National Democrats and the Liberals gained little from their part in these events. The Istiqlal gained a seat in the Cabinet which succeeded the negotiators of the treaty, while the extremists on the Left gained a measure of control over the continued strikes and demonstrations. This was illustrated by the small effect of an appeal issued by the three legal parties on 8th March for a cessation of street demonstrations.

12. It was the introduction of martial law, justified by Iraqi armed intervention in Palestine, which put a stop to the strikes and demonstrations, and by its help the Government was able to hold the elections in June 1948. The Liberals and National Democrats gained two seats each, in the face of Government hostility, expressed *inter alia* by the arrest and sentence, under martial law, of the president of the Basra branch of the National Democratic Party.

13. Party activity since the elections has steadily decreased. This is true even of the Istiqlal Party. The Liberals, since the defection of their more important names (Ali Mumtaz was the last to go in May 1948), had become little more than an appendage of the National Democrats, while the membership of this latter party had dropped from about 1,000 in 1947 to little more than 100 in the last quarter of 1948. The leader of the National Democrats is reported to have said that he anticipates that the majority of his supporters and some of the Liberals would join the illegal parties. There is some evidence that Aziz Sherif and Abdul Fettah Ibrahim, leaders of the suppressed Shaab and National Unity Parties, are preparing to exploit this situation.

14. The history of the National Democratic and Liberal Parties appears to justify both those critics who argued that political parties could not find enough popular support in Iraq to make them an effective factor in Iraqi politics, and those who feared that failure by Government to encourage genuine political parties would drive their potential membership into the ranks of revolutionary extremism. It confirms the conclusion reached by Mr. Busk in his memorandum enclosed in my Top Secret despatch No. 171 of 26th May, 1948, that the parties do not at present provide a possible alternative to the "Old Gang" and that we must base our hopes of improvement of the Iraqi Government rather on a continuous process of recruitment into the "Old Gang" of more able and liberal members.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

E 246/10338/93

No. 2

IRAQI-SOVIET RELATIONS

Arguments against Closure of the Soviet Legation in Iraq

Mr. Berin to Sir H. Mack (Bagdad)

(No. 25. Secret) Foreign Office,
(Telegraphic) 5th January, 1949.

Your telegram No. 1163 [of 8th December: Iraqi relations with Russia].

While I can offer no objection to closure of Iraqi Legation in Moscow for reasons
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of economy, I think it would be a great mistake for the Iraqi Government to ask the Soviet Government to close the Soviet Legation in Bagdad at this juncture. It would not prevent Soviet activities in Iraq since according to our information the

main centre for these has always been in Beirut. It would, moreover, probably drive such activities as there are underground and make them all the more difficult to watch. The closure of the Soviet Legation might also provide an occasion for local Communists or discontented elements to stir up trouble which, in the present economic weakness of the country, might quickly grow to dangerous proportions.

2. It seems to me that while adequate measures to counter Communist penetration are highly desirable the most important steps to be taken are the restoration of the economic stability of the country and the establishment of confidence that the régime is making a genuine attempt to improve social, economic and financial conditions. If the Iraqi Government ask for your views you should bring this out once again.

E 773/1011/93

No. 3

IRAQ: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1948

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 17th January)

(No. 1. Confidential) Bagdad,
Sir, 4th January, 1949.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a review of political events in Iraq during the year 1948, for which I am indebted to Mr. J. C. B. Richmond, the oriental counsellor.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and its enclosure to His Majesty's representatives at Cairo, Jedda, Damascus, Beirut and Amman, the British Middle East Office, the Air Officer Commanding in Iraq, and His Majesty's Consular Officers at Basra, Kirkuk, Amara and Mosul.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

Enclosure in No. 3

Iraq: Annual Review for 1948

1948 has exposed the Iraqi State to strains which it was ill fitted to bear and, although it emerged without disaster from a period of almost complete abdication of authority, no progress has been made towards reforms which are urgently necessary if the Iraqi State is to survive in its present form. There are distressingly few indications that the Iraqi ruling classes can produce the ideas and the determination to put them into effect which alone will enable Iraq to surmount her present difficulties. The time when all that was needed was the preservation of a nice balance between the fantasies of the extreme Nationalists and the necessity for the British connexion as a shield between Iraq and the cold winds of reality is past. The rôle of spoilt child of Great Britain is doubtless attractive, but an impoverished parent can hardly be expected to continue to meet the bills indefinitely.

Domestic Affairs

2. The year opened with the bursting of the storm which had been gathering throughout the autumn against the Government of Saleh Jabr. The main cause for this explosion had little to do with Anglo-Iraqi relations. It was, in essence, the exploitation by Saleh Jabr's opponents of the many real grievances of the people, notably the shortage of bread supplies in the towns and the corruption and inefficiency of the Administration. The use of the treaty as a pretext served to enlist the unthinking xenophobia of Iraqi youth in the task of driving Saleh Jabr from office. The operation was more successful than its organisers can have hoped. Nationalist extremists and Liberal reformers alike glorified the so-called "National Uprising" as the opening of a new millennium in which the Iraqi Government and people would march forward together, divided no longer by the intrigues of the British and their Iraqi jackals.

3. These naïve expectations could not in the nature of things be fulfilled. The principal architects of the "National Uprising" had, in fact, been badly frightened by the devil of mob violence they had unchained, and the Government that was formed to succeed Saleh Jabr's was of a strictly traditional pattern, containing one representative only of the parties who had contributed so largely to the organisation of the disturbances. It contained an imposing array of ex-Ministers and ex-Prime Ministers, but it had no policy and no internal loyalty. It was headed by a venerable Shi'a divine, whose complete incomprehension of the business of government and whose determination to avoid a trial of strength with the forces of disorder reduced Iraq to a state of near anarchy.

The real grievances of the people, though alleviated in some degree by the Australian wheat imports facilitated by His Majesty's Government, continued to operate, and although the Government, in response to the clamour of the parties, rejected the Portsmouth Treaty and decided on the dissolution of Parliament, strikes and demonstrations continued almost daily in Bagdad. The organisation of these had now passed to the underground Leftist parties, and the appeal of the legal parties for quiet on 8th March had little or no effect.

4. The Government were now gravely embarrassed by their decision to hold fresh elections. Although electoral campaigns as we know them in more advanced democracies do not take place in Iraq, personal rivalries are strong and when public opinion is already disturbed there is always the risk of breaches of the peace. It was fortunate for the Government that the intervention of the Arab armies in Palestine gave them a pretext for the imposition of martial law. The lack of harmony inside the Cabinet made it impossible for them to agree on an election policy and their intervention was erratic and contradictory. The Chamber which emerged was probably no worse than that which it replaced, but its composition was secured by the same methods, more clumsily applied, as those which had caused the previous Chamber to be denounced as unrepresentative.

5. As soon as the elections were over and the new Parliament opened, the Sadr Government resigned. Although martial law had restored the country to some semblance of order, they left to their successors a gravely impaired security situation, an ill-considered and worse-prepared military campaign and a serious financial crisis. The new Government was headed by Muzahim al Pachachi, who had the advantage of having been absent from political life for so long that he could not be blamed for the ills from which Iraq was suffering. His Cabinet contained a competent Minister of Finance and a shrewd and experienced Minister of Interior, but it was hardly of sufficient ability to be able to do more than slow down the rate at which Iraq was going downhill. For the first five months of its life the Government issued no statement of policy and the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the ordinary session of Parliament on 1st December was more a description of current Government

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activities than an announcement of future policy. During the months of July and August martial law was much abused. Jews were relentlessly persecuted and many were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment on the flimsiest evidence. Efforts were made to eliminate them from the public service and in Basra the extreme nationalists ran a regular campaign of delations. A reaction set in after the execution of a rich Jewish merchant on the charge of having procured arms and despatched them to the Zionists. The Minister of Defence, who had encouraged the persecutions, was forced to resign, but not before great harm had resulted to the commercial life of the country.

6. The Minister of Defence was replaced after an interval by Shakir al Wadi, the first of the signatories of the Portsmouth Treaty to regain ministerial office. The complete failure of the Sadr Government had naturally tended to discredit the opponents of Nuri al Said and Saleh Jabr, who had been assiduously working throughout the summer towards their political rehabilitation. Two new newspapers were started to support the policies of Nuri and his friends, while the *Shaab*, which had remained faithful to Saleh Jabr during the period of his eclipse, was emboldened to speak out more openly. Nuri Pasha's influence with the Prime Minister was shown in the Cabinet reshuffle which took place in October, when Ali Jawdat and Umar Nadhmi were brought into the important posts of Foreign Affairs and Interior. It is a measure of his ascendancy in the political life of Iraq that Nuri was so easily able to quell the efforts of the parties, in a Majlis elected under a Government of his opponents, to call in question the appointment of Shakir al Wadi. Although it is still doubtful whether a Government of the supporters of the Portsmouth Treaty could be formed, it is certain that the present Government only remains in power by virtue of the support of Nuri Pasha.

7. The financial situation of the Government grew steadily more serious throughout the year. The increasing inefficiency in the collection of revenue and the control of expenditure, the swelling numbers of Government officials, the high cost of living and the increased expenditure on the army operations in Palestine combined to aggravate the financial difficulties of the Iraqi Government. Added to this was the contraction in business activity caused by lack

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of confidence in the ability of Government to govern and aggravated by the persecution of Jews, who form such an important element in the Iraqi mercantile community. The Government have so far shown little sign of any determination to tackle the problem. The Minister of Finance resigned in November after the rejection on political grounds of his proposals for a solution, and has so far not been replaced. A committee of both Houses of Parliament has made a study of the situation and have submitted a report, but the Government appear to be content to scrape through from month to month by the use of the last vestiges of their reserves and even by raids on the currency cover.

8. The year has seen the reduction of the numbers of active legal political parties, originally five, from three to one. The Liberals and the National Democrats announced the suspension of their activities on 3rd December, alleging that Government opposition made it impossible for them to work effectively towards their political objectives. They had failed conspicuously in two elections to show that they had sufficient popular support to offset the suspicion and hostility with which they were regarded by successive Governments. Iraqi politics seem likely to remain for some time to come an affair of individuals and rapidly shifting groups. The place for organised propagation of a political faith will lie outside the law. Evidence for active illegal political activity has recently been produced by the arrest of a number of Communists and the seizure of their printing press. The investigation of this case is still proceeding and full details are not yet available, but it serves to show that the arrest and imprisonment of the so-called Fahad group early in 1947 did not paralyse the Communist Party organisation in Iraq. The remaining active legal party, the Independence Party, took the lead in parliamentary opposition to the Government during the closing months of the year. During the last few days of the year the Jewish Christmas offensive in Palestine enabled the party to instigate student demonstrations demanding Iraqi aid to Egypt, which resulted in clashes with the police.

External Affairs

9. The foreign policy of the Sadr Government was fully as negative as its domestic policy. In obedience to the clamour of the parties they issued a state-

ment to the effect that the treaty was not a fit instrument for strengthening the ties of friendship between Iraq and the United Kingdom and rejected it without laying it before the Iraqi Parliament. Most of the members of the Government asserted in private their conviction that a treaty with Great Britain was a necessity for Iraq and, when asked in what particular the Portsmouth Treaty failed to satisfy Iraqi requirements, they took refuge in evasion. Only the Independence Party made any attempt at serious criticism of the text of the treaty, and their arguments did not carry conviction except to those who regard any treaty with Great Britain as derogating from the sovereignty and independence of Iraq.

10. The Palestine issue has, of course, dominated Iraqi external relations throughout the year, and on this issue the Sadr Government blindly followed the policy of the Arab League. They did nothing to discourage the despatch of Iraqi volunteers to the so-called liberation army before the end of the mandate. Their regular military intervention after 15th May was characteristically inept. The preparation of the campaign left everything to be desired, the forces sent were at the outset too small, their administrative and supply services were quite inadequate and, although the Iraqis fought well in some engagements, the high command gained little credit. During the first truce and the consequent passing of the military initiative to the Jews, the Government resigned, leaving to their successors a hopeless military situation as well as a number of unsolved internal problems.

11. Muzahim Pachachi brought to inter-Arab relations a less timid and limited outlook than his predecessors, but his own more realistic ideas could not be pushed very far because of his fear of Iraqi public opinion. He conciliated the latter at small expense by recording Iraq's rejection of the second truce, while bowing in practice to the majority decision of the Arab League to accept it. He was fully aware of the weaknesses and dissensions inside the league and hoped to strengthen the Arab position by a closer collaboration between Iraq and Egypt, as the two strongest Arab League Powers. This policy came too late to be of any effect. The Jews were already in a dominating military position, while Iraq's internal position was too weak to support any lead her Government might attempt to take in Arab States affairs.

The efforts of the Iraqi Prime Minister to establish unity of command over the Arab armies in Palestine failed because of the unwillingness of the Egyptians to command or to be commanded, and although agreement was reached between the Iraqi and Transjordan Governments to place their forces under a single commander, it proved impossible in practice to give effect to this agreement. Muzahim's policy was threatened by the Egyptian support of the Gaza Government, which was embarrassing to the Iraqi Government, and collapsed with the collapse of the Egyptian army under the Jewish attacks in October. At the close of the year the Government found itself uncertain and embarrassed in face of the threatened split in the Arab League as a result of the Jericho Conference, which proclaimed the unity of Transjordan and Palestine. The steady refusal of the Iraqi Government to take the advice of His Majesty's Government to adopt a Palestine policy more in harmony with the realities of the situation was inevitable, given the weakness of Government in the face of Iraqi nationalism and the importance attached to an apparent maintenance of Arab unity. Iraq's internal weakness has prevented her having an effective voice in the shaping of the Arab League policy on Palestine, and she has had no alternative but to conform. There is, however, to be

observed in Iraq a growing realisation that the Arab League's policy has failed completely, and a solution based on the existence of the Jewish State is less impossible of acceptance by Iraq than ever before.

12. The tension caused in Anglo-Iraqi relations by the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty has steadily relaxed, in spite of the difficulties caused by the strict observance by His Majesty's Government of the Security Council's embargo on the supply of arms and war material to the Arab States. During the lifetime of the Sadr Government it was practically impossible for His Majesty's Embassy to obtain a favourable decision on the smallest point, but the Pachachi Government have shown their readiness to be helpful in small ways although they have felt bound to adopt an intransigent attitude on Palestine. Signs have not been wanting during the later months of the year that most Iraqi politicians would now be glad to conclude a treaty on the lines of Portsmouth. It remains doubtful, however, whether they would be able to obtain its ratification. The lack of political and financial stability in Iraq, which has been so clearly illustrated in 1948, will have to be overcome before Iraq can carry out efficiently its plans for the development of the country, or be relied on as an effective member of any Middle Eastern defence system.

E 6397/1054/93

No. 4

CONDITIONS IN NORTHERN IRAQ

Visit by His Majesty's Ambassador to Mosul

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 23rd May)

(No. 99)
Sir,

*Bagdad,
17th May, 1949.*

I have the honour to report that, accompanied by my wife, Mr. G. G. Arthur and Flight Lieutenant Shepherd, I recently paid a visit of four days to Mosul.

2. On our arrival at Mosul we were welcomed by the Mutasarrif, the mayor, the garrison commander, the heads of the local Christian communities, the Apostolic Delegate in Iraq—Mgr. du Chayla, who happened to be on a pastoral tour of the north, His Majesty's Consul at Kirkuk, the British Vice-Consul at Mosul, and others. Later in the morning I returned the Mutasarrif's call and inspected a guard

of honour. During our stay three large receptions were given, by the Mutasarrif, the mayor and the British Vice-Consul, Mr. C. P. Bradburne; whilst I received calls in the vice-consulate from senior officials, notables and the heads of Mosul's many religious communities. I also visited the British Institute and Information Office, both of which are pleasantly housed and well run, the British cemeteries, and the site of Nineveh.

3. Mosul is often called "the mother of two springs" and the traveller from Bagdad finds it pleasant indeed to awaken to rolling plains, soon to be barren, but now covered with fresh crops, grass that is

green, and wild flowers. Winter was long this year, spring late, and rainfall above average. A fine harvest is expected all over northern Iraq, except in some of the higher valleys where the continuing cold has done some damage. Even the locust menace, the northern farmers last fear, is generally regarded as overcome, more as a result perhaps of the late cold than through the efforts of the agricultural department, whose two helicopters we often saw hovering over Mosul town. As the Mutasarrif put it, "God has forestalled man's efforts."

4. The ungenerous people of Mosul have often been compared unfavourably with their prodigal spring season. To us they were very friendly, and from this short visit I can confirm the impressions reported by previous visitors from my staff, that the feeling of the Moslawis has become far more favourable to us in the last six months. It was a Mosul Deputy who said in the Chamber a few days ago that he would never be content until the British Ambassador in Iraq lost his special influence and became as any other diplomatic representative, and many of his fellow citizens may often feel the same; but they probably also feel a certain nostalgia for that same British control that they are proud to have thrown off. Only in Bagdad, in the Ministry of Interior, was a voice raised to carp at the ceremony and welcome that Mosul was prepared to give us.

5. The Deputy Prime Minister, Umar Nadhumi, who has been touring the northern Liwas as a kind of superior administrative inspector, arrived in Mosul on our last day there. In conversation he confirmed the impression I had already formed from talks with the Mutasarrif of Mosul and the reports of members of my staff, that although local feuds continue, security in northern Iraq is still fairly good. There is no reason to expect serious trouble in Iraqi Kurdistan unless the Russians intensify their efforts to create it. Fear of the return of Mulla Mustafa of Barzan with Russian backing is uppermost in Iraqi minds nowadays, but the Deputy Prime Minister admitted that the Iraqi Government have no reliable information to indicate that such a return is actually being planned. He added that the Kurdish tribes often exaggerate rumours of Russian intrigue in order

to proclaim their own unique loyalty to Iraq or to blacken a neighbour. However, the return of Mulla Mustafa is always possible and is sincerely believed to be imminent by many senior Iraqi statesmen and officials. We must be careful not to dismiss this possibility lightly, for the Soviet Government and the Barzanis in Russia are doubtless aware that the Palestine campaign and the arms embargo have weakened the Iraqi police and army. The Iraqi Government have recently taken the wise precaution of sending a brigade of mobile police to the Rowanduz area.

6. We spent one day visiting Ain Zala, the Mosul Petroleum Company's field on the west bank of the Tigris some fifty miles north of Mosul. After watching the drilling of a new well and meeting the senior employees and their wives, we were entertained to lunch by the fields manager, who told me that the last British Ambassador to visit a Mosul Petroleum Company field was Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr (now Lord Inverchapel) in 1935. I understand that one or two good wells have been found in Ain Zala, but it is not yet known whether the field will be productive enough to justify the expense of long pipelines.

7. In conclusion, I have no doubt that tours such as this are most profitable. The appearance in the provinces of the British Ambassador not only encourages our friends, but also frequently softens our detractors, for even the "educated" townsmen of Iraq, whom impersonal facts or written propaganda might never touch, are often susceptible to a friendly word. Again, the occasional demonstration of ceremony towards the ambassador helps to keep alive the belief in Britain's special position in Iraq. We observed this particularly amongst the Mosul police, by whose attentions we were much impressed and often embarrassed. I should therefore recommend that His Majesty's Representative in Bagdad should visit the northern provinces of Iraq at least once every two years, Kirkuk should be visited more often.

8. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.
HENRY B. MACK.

E 6443/1025/93

No. 5

FOREIGN POLICY OF IRAQ

Review by the Minister for Foreign Affairs

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 24th May)(No. 94)
Sir,Bagdad,
13th May, 1949.

I have the honour to report that the Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs reviewed Iraq's foreign policy in a speech delivered in the Chamber of Deputies on 3rd May.

2. Dr. Jamali stated the basic principles of Iraqi foreign policy as follows:—

- (1) The security and independence of Iraq.
- (2) The principles of the Arab revolt for the emancipation and union of Arab countries.
- (3) Friendship with neighbouring States.
- (4) The pursuance of a foreign policy which may contribute to the economic and social advancement of Iraq.

3. With reference to the first of these principles, Dr. Jamali strongly affirmed the impossibility of a small country like Iraq pursuing a neutral policy between the two great international camps. The integrity of the country must be secured by the strength of national defence and by co-operation with those countries whose interests conform with those of Iraq. He declared his hope that a collective defensive pact for the security of the Arab countries and neighbouring eastern countries would be established on the lines of the Atlantic Pact. After such agreement had been reached, he thought that there would be no reason to maintain the existing bi-lateral agreements.

4. Speaking on the second of the principles he affirmed Iraq's sincerity and frankness towards the Arab League. The Iraqi Government's attitude towards the recent Syrian military *coup* was that it considered the *coup* as an internal affair and the Minister denied that the Iraq Government had any intention of imposing any scheme of union on Syria. Union with any country must come, he said, from the wishes of the people of that country.

5. After an attack on Azzam Pasha, who, he said, was exercising greater power than his office warranted, he summarised the attitude of the Iraqi Government to the League as follows:—

- (1) Complete adherence to the Arab League Charter.
- (2) Continued efforts for closer understanding between the member States.
- (3) The maximum use of article 9 of the Charter which provides for closer and stronger ties between individual Arab States.
- (4) The revision of the League's internal rules and regulations.

6. He described relations with the Saadabad Pact States as sound and cordial.

7. The speech contained no specific reference to Iraq's relations with Great Britain.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

E 6601/1018/93

No. 6

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAQ SINCE THE FORMATION OF NURI PASHA'S GOVERNMENT ON 6TH JANUARY, 1949

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 26th May)(No. 98)
Sir,Bagdad,
17th May, 1949.

I have the honour to submit the following observations on the political developments in Iraq since the formation of the present Government on 6th January, 1949.

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2. The main preoccupation of this Government has been to obtain from His Majesty's Government a resumption of the arms supply and financial assistance in some form. The idea that Nuri Pasha, if anyone, could obtain these benefits, assisted

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his return to power and his failure so far to obtain quick success has contributed greatly to a sense of frustration which is becoming more and more apparent in Iraqi governing circles.

3. When Nuri al Said took over from Muzahim al Pachachi the security situation was deteriorating. The Egyptian propaganda depicting Iraq as having abandoned the Egyptian army in its hour of need had had some success with Iraqi Nationalist youth and the Communists were ready to exploit and extend any disturbances which might take place. A number of demonstrations in different parts of the country did in fact occur during the first three weeks of January. The anniversary of "Martyrs Day," when some of the rioters against the Portsmouth Treaty had lost their lives in January 1948, was approaching and the stage seemed set for a trial of strength between the Government and the agitators of both Right and Left. Nuri realised that the authority of Government needed assertion and that this was an indispensable precondition of his obtaining help from His Majesty's Government. The line he followed was to hit hard at the Communists and to conciliate the Right-wing Independence Party. Successful police investigations of Communist Party activities during the autumn and continuing through the winter presented him with opportunities to make examples. A special court martial was set up and exemplary sentences were freely passed. These sentences combined with strong police precautionary measures and ordinances such as that prohibiting teachers from political propaganda, soon brought incipient disorder to an end. The state of public security became better than at any time during the previous year.

4. The next step was to strengthen and broaden the basis of the Government. This was attempted under two aspects. First, the introduction into the Cabinet of Ministers with stronger political support. Secondly, the attempt to attract Parliamentary support for what was called the National Charter or Pact. Neither of these operations was completely successful. After prolonged negotiations the reshuffled Cabinet emerged on 18th March, strengthened to some extent by the appointment of Umar Nadhmi as Deputy Prime Minister but with its main elements of weakness at the Ministry of Justice and disharmony at Education and Communications and Works undisturbed. The

National Pact also proved a damp squib. It contained the usual provisions for closer inter-Arab relations and strengthening the Arab League, and for combating communism and protecting the rights of workers. It referred to the reduction of corruption and the encouragement of industry and small ownership in land and affirmed the implementation of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. It aroused no enthusiasm and seems to have been quietly dropped, although there has recently been talk of its resurrection as the basis for Independence Party participation in the Government. Nuri has certainly obtained some success in mitigating the hostility of the Independence Party towards him. This success is partial and probably very temporary. It began with Nuri's release of Siddiq Shenshab who was under preventive arrest and has been assisted by the similarity of Nuri's views and those of the Party on Iraqi-Syrian union. Under Nuri's influence and that of world events the Istiqlal appear to have modified their views on Anglo-Iraqi relations: the party has ceased to insist on the cutting of all ties and merely demands the revision of the 1930 Treaty on lines remarkably similar to those of the Portsmouth Treaty.

5. Nuri has stated publicly that Iraq will not recover her credit unless the budget is balanced. His primary object has been to obtain loans from all possible sources. He realised early that no direct assistance would be forthcoming from His Majesty's Government and his efforts have been concentrated on the negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company which he hopes will bring him a loan, and with the setting up of a Development Board, which it is hoped may help to induce the International Bank to invest money in Iraq. The course of these negotiations has been fully reported elsewhere, as has the progress in the setting up of the National Bank, which provides a good example of the pervading influence of politics on every aspect of Iraqi national life. The Minister of Finance has made an effort to produce a balanced budget. He has cut departmental estimates and reduced the High Cost of Living allowances. This last measure has met with much criticism in press and Parliament on the grounds that it will increase corruption, which may well prove true. He has lately laid before the Majlis measures to increase certain indirect taxes. The cash position will not however show any improvement for some

months, and the Government is still finding it difficult to provide the cash to meet its current obligations.

6. Although Nuri's foreign policy is fixed in its broad lines—adherence to the British connexion and the strengthening of the Hashemites in the Arab world, with a bias towards Turkey and away from Egypt—he has not solved the difficulty of reconciling Iraqi opinion to a British policy which accepts the Jewish State, nor has he been able to keep closely in step with Transjordan because of the strong suspicion under which that country labours of being merely an instrument of British policy. The main difficulty for men like Nuri who are sincerely convinced of the value to the Arabs of British guidance has been the ambiguity of that guidance in the past, arising from the conflict within British Governments on their Middle East policy to which you referred in your speech in the House of Commons on the 26th January last.

7. Nuri came to power with a public undertaking to carry out the Iraqi Parliamentary resolution of 28th November, 1948, which provided for, first a military plan defining the responsibilities of each of the Arab armies in the defence of Palestine, secondly a political plan for the same purpose, including tactics at the United Nations. Nuri of course realised that any combined Arab military action was already out of the question, but he did attempt to secure the agreement of the other Arab States to a programme based on his four points—

- (1) Jerusalem to be Arab.
- (2) The Jews to be disarmed and their frontiers guaranteed by United Nations Organisation.
- (3) The refugees to return to their homes.
- (4) The Port of Haifa to be placed under international authority.

Although the Arabs at the outset adopted a common attitude to the Palestine Conciliation Commission based on the first and third of these points, Nuri did not obtain any encouragement for them from the United Kingdom or the United States. By the middle of February it was clear to him that this policy would fail and from then on his efforts have been directed towards extricating Iraq from the Palestine tangle and avoiding any Iraqi responsibility for the outcome. He has to some extent achieved this modest aim.

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The Iraqi forces have left Palestine and two brigades have returned to Iraq without incident. No Iraqi delegation is to attend the conference with the Conciliation Commission at Lausanne. Iraq has for the present turned her back on Palestine, but the after effects of this adventure will long remain to embitter her relations with the west, and to provide opportunities for internal political strife.

8. The *coup d'état* in Syria came as a welcome new object of interest for Iraqi political opinion, frustrated and despairing at the retreat from disaster to disaster in Palestine and at Lake Success. The news was uncritically and enthusiastically received by both young Nationalist opinion and by the "old gang" who had fought under King Faisal I. They thought it meant the achievement of Iraqi-Syrian unity under the crown and leadership of Iraq, and the end of the attachment of Damascus to the Cairo-Riyadh axis. Only a few saw it as further unwelcome evidence of the weakness and instability of the Arab States, and as an example which other Arab armies might be tempted to emulate. The return of Jamal Baban with what seems to have been a fairly accurate report of Colonel Zaim's character and aims dashed the hopes of Nuri and Dr. Jamali, the Iraqi Foreign Minister, but these were soon revived again by the arrival of emissaries from Colonel Zaim bringing suggestions for closer Iraqi-Syrian relations. On this small encouragement Nuri went to Damascus and it seems, although reports are conflicting, that he attempted to trick Colonel Zaim into accepting the entry of Iraqi troops into Syria ostensibly in order to stiffen the Syrian-Israeli front. In this attempt, if indeed he made it, he failed and he certainly returned from Damascus disappointed and sharply critical of Colonel Zaim. Moderate Iraqi opinion considers that the recognition of Colonel Zaim's Government by Egypt, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia which immediately followed, was the direct result of Nuri's precipitate action. Perhaps to meet this criticism Dr. Jamali was at pains to deny in the Majlis recently that the Iraqi Government regarded the Cairo-Riyadh axis as a reality, although in private he attributes Iraq's failure with Colonel Zaim to the machinations of Assam Pasha acting on Egyptian instructions and armed with Saudi dollars. Nuri has not gained much success or credit from this affair, but Zaim appears still to consider the full

recognition of Iraq to be desirable and sent his Foreign Minister to Bagdad to try and obtain it. Nuri continued to refuse. He and many other prominent Iraqis refuse to be shaken in their belief that the majority of Syrians desire union with Iraq.

9. Relations with the Arab League and Egypt and to a lesser degree with Saudi Arabia have, as expected, deteriorated during Nuri's term of office. Muzahim's policy of an Iraqi-Egyptian rapprochement had already failed before his resignation. The strong Egyptian reaction to the failure of the Iraqi Army to do anything to relieve the pressure of Jewish attacks on the Egyptian forces in Palestine, combined with the long standing Egyptian distrust of Nuri al Said contributed to the coldness of their reception of Jamil Mada'i's and later of Fadhil Jamali's mission. Egypt is now delaying the agreement for the Iraqi Minister designate and Iraqi-Egyptian relations can hardly be said to exist. Iraq has publicly stated her dissatisfaction with the Secretary-General of the Arab League. She has ceased to pay her dues and though she still affirms her adherence to the League, she is no longer willing to co-operate actively with it in its present form. Bad Iraqi-Egyptian relations are unfortunately of long-standing and Iraq's dissatisfaction with the Arab League has long been an open secret. What is more serious is the drifting apart of Iraq and Transjordan. The liaison between the armies of the two countries in Palestine was extremely poor, and on the political plane the determination of the Iraqis to avoid any negotiations direct or indirect with the Jews made great difficulties for King Abdullah, and perhaps partly contributed to the cession of Arab territory agreed at Shunet, although it can be argued that the Jews would have presented the same blackmailing demands to

the Iraqis, had the latter negotiated an armistice for their own front and that the Iraqi army was quite as incapable as the Arab Legion of effectively resisting a large-scale attack. The views of the Iraqi and Transjordan Governments are also divergent on the Syrian question and the recent visit of the Transjordan Prime Minister to Bagdad appears to have achieved very little.

10. Nuri, in short, has succeeded in restoring public security and respect for Government to a higher level than it had reached since the events of January, 1948. He has had some success in splitting the ranks of the opposition and in mitigating the hostility of the right wing Nationalists. Some progress has been made in setting the financial affairs of the Government on a better footing, though this is necessarily a slow and difficult process. He has naturally failed in his attempts to unify the policy of the Arab States towards Palestine, and Iraq is now alone in her uncompromising attitude towards the Conciliation Commission; but he has succeeded in withdrawing a part of the Army to Iraq without incident. The realisation of his Syrian dream has receded into the distance, and in his two major aims, the obtaining of arms and an external loan, he has not yet succeeded. He is a very tired and disappointed man. There are rumours of differences between him and the Regent, but there are no indications that His Royal Highness' confidence has yet been withdrawn, and Nuri's tenth Government may still have some time to live.

11. I am sending copies of this despatch to the British Middle East Office and to His Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Amman, Beirut and Damascus.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

E 7456/1025/93

No. 7

IRAQ'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER ARAB STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

Statement by the Iraqi Prime Minister

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 17th June)

(No. 111)
Sir,

Bagdad,
7th June, 1949.

I have the honour to report, with reference to my despatch No. 94 of 13th May,

that the Iraqi Prime Minister, in a speech delivered in the Senate during the debate on the general budget on 31st May, 1949, restated the position of his Government on

Iraq's relations with the other Arab States and with Great Britain.

2. Nuri Pasha's first point was that the relations between Arab States should resemble the internal relations of an organism rather than normal foreign relations. He hoped at least that the day would come when Arab States would exchange "High Commissioners" instead of diplomatic representatives; this would show that the relations between the Arab States were closer than the normal relations between separate independent States, and the "High Commissioners" (for want of a name with "less unfortunate associations") would have access to all Government departments and be in touch with all classes of people in a way not permitted to normal diplomatic representatives.

3. Turning to the alleged differences between the Arab States, the Prime Minister said that he could think of no single issue which would create trouble between, for example, Iraq and Egypt, were it not for the fact that certain politicians and certain newspapers were well paid to perpetuate these differences. The Iraqi Government had no quarrel even with Azzam Pasha except on the internal regulations of the Arab League, which they considered incompatible with the responsibilities of individual Arab States, and on which their views had been well-known since 1945. He then referred to Article 9 of the Charter of the Arab League, which provides for closer relations between individual Arab States. He recalled the partition of the Arab world after the first World War, which had always been regarded as an imperialist scheme for keeping the Arabs weak in division, and said that he was surprised to hear move towards greater Arab unity described now as being inspired by the imperialists.

4. Speaking of Iraq's treaty relations, the Prime Minister referred to that part of the Minister for Foreign Affairs' speech reported in paragraph 3 of my despatch under reference, and added that he, too, preferred that Iraq should join a general pact with the Arab and other Eastern States on the lines of the Atlantic and Western European Pacts rather than sign a bilateral treaty. "But," he continued, "if we are, after all, compelled to consider the Anglo-Iraq treaty, I am one of those who, whilst preferring to sign a general pact, consider that we should assemble a committee of responsible Iraqi statesmen for the purpose. As in 1930, I will not

take a single step without consulting their opinion. I greatly regret to find that, whilst times and conditions have changed, we are still standing on a treaty which was good enough—indeed it was a step forward—in 1930. After these nineteen years we must change the treaty in the interests of both parties, if indeed we must have a bilateral treaty.

5. I referred to the above in conversation with Nuri Pasha on 4th June. He confirmed that his preference was for a general pact—perhaps an Eastern Mediterranean pact—"if only to keep the sea-lawyers quiet." I took the opportunity to point out that defence requirements varied in each country and that a general pact would not obviate the need for bilateral arrangements to cover these requirements. Such arrangements would still be essential. Nuri Pasha did not contest this and proceeded to lament Salah Jabr's failure to adopt his advice by returning to Bagdad and taking important elements here into full consultation in regard to the details of the draft Treaty of Portsmouth.

6. I should mention at this point that the deputy leader of the Istiqlal Party, Faiq as Samarra'i, has spoken of Anglo-Iraqi treaty relations in an interview with the *Iraq Times* published on 30th May. He advocated the strengthening of Anglo-Iraqi relations by a new treaty based on the recognition of the full sovereignty of Iraq. The new treaty would omit the provisions about the British Advisers and provide for the transfer of the two Royal Air Force bases in Iraq to the Iraqi army, all foreign troops then evacuating the country. Sayid Faiq suggested periodic Iraqi goodwill missions to Great Britain, spoke favourably of a Mediterranean Pact and asked that Great Britain and the United States should give the same financial, economic and military aid to Iraq as they have given to Turkey. Technical experts would naturally be included. This is evidence of the change in the views of the Istiqlal Party which was mentioned in paragraph 4 of my despatch No. 98 of 17th May, 1949, and which is due partly to the efforts of Nuri Pasha and Saleh Jabr.

7. The rest of the Prime Minister's speech dealt with financial and economic matters. He confessed his uneasiness at the critical financial situation and said that there would be some difficulty in meeting current expenditure for the next two months. The cause of these difficulties was unthinking expenditure, principally on

railway development, for which ID.11 million had been authorised and ID.5,500,000 already spent. Nobody would deny the advantages of railway development, but Parliament should have thought where the money was coming from before they passed the Bill authorising this expenditure.

8. The economic position was no less unsatisfactory. The Government had been blamed for under-estimating the surplus of cereals available for export, but landowners were equally to blame for failing to register their full produce. Nevertheless, the Government was working for the export of 350,000 tons of barley. Iraq also needed to achieve a balance of trade, which depended principally on increased agricultural production and increased revenue from oil. Oil royalties should not be less than those in neighbouring countries, and by 1953 exports of crude oil to Mediterranean ports should be not less than 25 million tons. If these two conditions were accepted as the basis of the revision of the oil concessions, Iraq would be getting at least ID.12,500,000 a year by 1953.

9. Referring to the mission from the International Bank (which arrived in Bagdad on 4th June), the Prime Minister said that if Iraq obtained a loan from the Bank the first task would be the execution of flood relief schemes. Next would come

irrigation projects, which, when fully completed, might put into cultivation nearly three times the cultivable area of Egypt. The bank would doubtless insist on the whole loan being spent on development projects, and the work on these would continue according to a fixed plan irrespective of Cabinet changes.

10. After commending the efforts already made in the cement and weaving factories and hoping that they would be able to increase their production, the Prime Minister dealt with the question of official corruption. The Government had been attacked for their failure to restrict this, but in truth the remedy was not easy to find. It was a matter of morals rather than politics, and evidence of corruption was very difficult to establish in the courts. He suggested some kind of special committee (which would have to work on reputation rather than legal evidence) elected by officials themselves to deal with the matter. The Prime Minister finally spoke briefly about education and foreshadowed the extension of the medical college, the improvement of the engineering college, and the establishment of agricultural schools in the provinces.

11. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK

E 7962/1902/93

No. 8

IRAQ: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 30th June)

(No. 116. Confidential) *Bagdad,*
Sir, *16th June, 1949.*

I have the honour to refer to my despatch No. 209 of 6th July, 1948, and to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the heads of foreign missions at this post.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

Enclosure in No. 8

Report on the Heads of Foreign Missions in Bagdad, 1949

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

Afghanistan

Sardar Ghulam Yahya Tarzi, Minister (20th June, 1948).

*Sardar Ghulam Tarzi was Minister of Communications in Kabul before coming here. His

previous diplomatic experience had been in Berlin many years ago, and German is his only European language. He seems friendly, but he gives the impression that he is finding it difficult to settle down in Bagdad. His wife is related to the Afghan Royal family and they have seven children. (Written in 1948.)

He always seems rather lost and he has made no position for himself here. His wife is purdah.

Egypt

Mohammed Yasin Bey, Minister since 11th October, 1945, left Bagdad in February 1949, on retirement. His successor has not yet been appointed.

France

Georges Balaÿ, Minister (3rd January, 1948).

*M. Balaÿ came here from Rome, where he had been Chargé d'Affaires for a considerable period. He is proud of having joined General de Gaulle towards the end of 1942. A bachelor of 45 years of age, M. Balaÿ pines for the delights of France and Italy and openly expresses his dislike for Bagdad, which he described as the city of *mille et un ennuis*. (Written in 1948.)

He seems to have become more reconciled to life in Bagdad during the last year, mainly perhaps because he has managed to assemble a domestic staff from Italy, which enables him to live well and entertain well. He speaks English fluently and is always friendly. He has not made himself popular with Iraqis and I doubt whether he has tried very hard.

Holy See

Mgr. Armand Etienne Blanquet du Chayla, Apostolic Delegate, 20th November, 1948.

Mgr. du Chayla, the Latin Archbishop of Bagdad, was appointed Apostolic Delegate on 20th November, 1948. He is a Frenchman and a member of the Carmelite Order. His appointment represents a departure from the stand hitherto taken by the Iraqi Government that the Apostolic Delegate in Iraq should not be the national of a major Power. He is an agreeable and cultivated man, and it is always a pleasure to meet him. He has spent ten years in Bagdad.

Mgr. du Chayla's diplomatic position is still not regularised.

Italy

Alphonso Errera, Minister (14th April, 1949).

Signor Errera, who is a bachelor, aged 57, and a doctor by profession, was posted here from Montevideo, his first diplomatic post. His background is uncompromisingly anti-Fascist and he suffered exile from his country between 1929 and the end of the war. He knows little of diplomacy and says he knows of no reason why he should have been sent to Bagdad except that he speaks some Arabic of the North African variety. He is quiet and retiring and seems content to leave whatever work there may be to his energetic First Secretary, Signor Grillo, who has made himself generally unpopular during the few months he has been here.

Lebanon

Kadhim al Solh, Minister (9th August, 1947).

*Kadhim al Solh is a cousin of Riad al Solh, Prime Minister of the Lebanon, and first cousin and brother-in-law of the present Syrian Minister in Bagdad. Aged about 45, and a Sunni Moslem of Beirut, he is a graduate of the Damascus Law School. He started life as a journalist, until his paper was suspended by the French. Subsequently he organised a small but influential nationalist (but not anti-British) political party, the Nida al Qammi. He speaks good French and some English. (Written in 1948.)

Persia

Mohammed Shayesteh, Minister (17th July, 1948).

His previous post was Washington. A friendly little man with a particularly pleasant wife. Both speak English well and have made themselves generally popular.

Saudi Arabia

Abdullah al Khaiyal, Minister (9th February, 1947).

*After a period in the Legation as a Secretary and then as Chargé d'Affaires, Abdullah al Khaiyal was appointed Minister in February 1947. He is friendly and intelligent, a genuine Saudi from Riyadh and, since being in Bagdad, has taken the trouble to learn some English. He frequently consults me on Saudi-Iraqi relations. (Written in 1947.)

*The Saudi Arabian Legation is strongly suspected by the Iraqis of acting as an intermediary between

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Rashid Ali and his friends in Iraq. Abdullah al Khaiyal has not been home for many years. (Written in 1948.)

He continues to be very friendly to me, to members of my staff, and to the British Council staff here, from whom he is learning English. A few weeks ago he surprised Bagdad society by giving the first Saudi party to which ladies were invited.

Soviet Union

Grigori Titovitch Zaitzev, Minister (14th February, 1945).

M. Zaitzev has not been seen in Bagdad since he left for Moscow on 11th June, 1948. M. Arkady Safarov, Second Secretary, has been in charge of the Legation during the intervening year. M. Safarov speaks good Persian, fair English and fair Arabic.

Spain

Juan Manuel de Aristegui, Minister (11th February, 1948).

Formerly Spanish Consul-General in Jerusalem and at present accredited both to Amman and Bagdad. He divides his time between both capitals according to the weather. He is stout and amiable, and speaks passable English.

Syria

Afif as Solh, Minister (25th April, 1947).

Afif as Solh is first cousin and brother-in-law of the Lebanese Minister, q.v. Neither is liked by the Iraqis. Afif as Solh speaks a little French only. He is apprehensive of his position under the new régime in Syria.

Transjordan

Mohammed Ali al Ajlouni Bey, Minister (20th September, 1947).

*Mohammed Ali al Ajlouni was transferred to Bagdad from Beirut, where he was replaced by his predecessor in Bagdad. He is a friendly little man but he speaks neither English nor French. (Written in 1948.)

Turkey

M. Nebil Bati, Minister (17th March, 1945).

*M. Bati is a friendly and intelligent colleague. He keeps in touch with me and I have no doubt that such influence as he may have here is exerted in a manner friendly to us. (Written in 1948.)

He was joined for the winter by his wife and a pleasant daughter who speaks English well.

United States

The Hon. Edward Savage Crocker, Ambassador (12th March, 1949).

Mr. George Wadsworth left Bagdad for Angola in September 1948, and has been replaced by Mr. Edward S. Crocker, a career diplomat, who before coming here was Counsellor at Warsaw. He has also served at San Salvador, Rome, Budapest, Stockholm, Tokyo, where he spent eight years, and Lisbon.

Mr. Crocker has not been here long enough for me to form a confident estimate of his character and ability. He has also been away quite a lot and he seems to have instructions to visit all the neighbouring States; this is easy enough as the United States Embassy possesses at least two aircraft. On his showing so far I would not rate his judgment too highly. He is friendly and will, I think, be co-operative. His wife has been in poor health since their arrival. After 26 years in the Foreign Service without a tour of duty in Washington, Mr. Crocker says he is determined to go home on leave every year. I think he will find means of reducing his periods in Bagdad quite considerably.

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The relations between the two Embassies continue to be close and cordial.

Representatives accredited to the Iraqi Government but resident elsewhere

Belgium

Count Geoffrey d'Aspremont-Lynden, Minister (June 1947).

The Minister resides in Beirut, and finds it hard to visit Bagdad. However, he spent three weeks here with his wife during March and April of this year. This was his first visit for about eighteen months.

M. Laurent Janssen, who now resides here permanently, continues as Chargé d'Affaires. He is very friendly.

China

There is at present no Minister accredited to the Iraqi Government. Mr. Lee Giaffa has been Chargé d'Affaires since July 1946. He is a rather childish little man, but he and his wife are both friendly.

Czechoslovakia

I understand that a new Czechoslovak Minister, M. Vavra, a career diplomatist, has been appointed to Tehran, but he is not yet accredited here. The present Iraqi Government will probably hesitate to give their agreement to a Czechoslovak representative.

Denmark

M. Axel Sporon Fiedler, Minister (7th April, 1949).

M. Sporon Fiedler, who is resident in Tehran, spent a few weeks in Bagdad during the spring after presenting his letters of credence.

Greece

M. Hajji Vassiliou, Chargé d'Affaires (27th November, 1947).

He is also Chargé d'Affaires in Beirut, where he resides. He has paid one short visit to Bagdad since my arrival. He is rather boisterous, and did not impress me altogether favourably. (Written in 1948.)

He has not reappeared.

Netherlands

M. W. A. A. M. Daniels, Minister (15th December, 1947).

M. Daniels resides in Angora. I have not met him. So far as I know he has not visited Bagdad since my arrival.

Norway

M. Ernest Krogh-Hansen, Minister (14th April, 1949).

M. Krogh-Hansen is accredited also to Turkey and Pakistan and is resident in Angora. He spent two weeks here after presenting his credentials in the (vain) hope of concluding an Air Agreement rapidly.

Poland

There is now no Polish representative accredited to the Iraqi Government.

Sweden

M. Pousette having been recalled, M. Bengt Ohdner is acting as Chargé d'Affaires. He lives in Tehran and I have never met him.

Switzerland

M. Daniel Secretan, Minister (1st May, 1946). M. Secretan resides in Cairo.

his honour by the Mayor of Tehran. He flew to Meshed and returned in one day, spent the night of 22nd June at the Iraqi Legation in Tehran and left for Bagdad by air on Thursday morning, 23rd June. He was seen off at the aerodrome by Prince Ali Riza.

4. The date of the arrival of the Regent, which had originally been fixed for 10th June, was set back because whereas in the first official programme it was announced that the Regent would be greeted at the aerodrome by Prince Ali Riza, the Iraqi Minister, Tahain Qadri, specially accredited for the period of the visit, insisted that he should be met by the Shah. The Iraqi view prevailed, and the Court issued a communiqué stating that in the interests of friendship the Shah had been pleased to invite the Regent officially. The reasons for this change of programme became generally known in Tehran and caused some resentment, but in the event all passed off well and the Iraqi Minister has since stated to a member of my staff that the Regent's visit was an outstanding success. His mission achieved, M. Qadri is planning to return to Bagdad immediately, and he apparently expects to accompany the Regent to London in about three months' time.

5. While the Regent was at the Caspian the Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Mohammad Fazil Jamali, who had accompanied him to Tehran, remained in the capital and continued his talks with the Persian authorities. With the Persian

Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Hikmat, he addressed a telegram to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan and Afghanistan expressing the hope that these two countries would settle their differences in a friendly manner and in accordance with the principles of Islam and the United Nations Charter. On the morning of his departure (23rd June) a joint communiqué was issued in Tehran, to be published later in Bagdad, stating that friendly discussions had taken place on questions of mutual interest, and had ended in complete agreement. Decisions were taken regarding the strengthening of cultural bonds and regarding travel facilities between the two countries which were agreed on close collaboration in international matters, and to reaffirm the close relations existing between them. They had also decided to elevate the status of their diplomatic missions to that of embassies.

6. The Minister for Foreign Affairs told me on 25th June that his conversations with M. Jamali had been eminently cordial and satisfactory, particularly as regards the co-ordination of policy towards the Kurds, the suppression of Communist activities and plans for the final delimitation of the Frontier.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Bagdad and Ankara, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I am, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 7947/10393/34

No. 9

VISIT OF THE REGENT OF IRAQ TO PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 30th June)

(No. 232)

Sir,

Tehran,

28th June, 1949.

I have the honour to inform you that His Royal Highness the Amir Abdul Illah, Regent and Crown Prince of Iraq, arrived in Tehran by special aircraft on the morning of 14th June on a State visit to this country. He was met at Mihrabad Aerodrome by His Imperial Majesty the Shah, and then went to the Sababqaranieh Palace north of Tehran where he was accommodated with his suite during his stay in Tehran.

2. A full programme was arranged for the Regent in Tehran—so full indeed that it was the subject of complaint by some members of his suite. The Shah held an official reception for him at the Sa'dabad Palace on the evening of 15th June to which all members of the diplomatic corps and a large number of Persians were invited. The Prime Minister gave a dinner in his

honour on 16th June and the Minister for Foreign Affairs a luncheon on 17th June. That evening the Regent himself held a reception for the Shah and all the guests of two nights previously. Apart from attending these social functions, the Regent was fully engaged in visiting the Archaeological Museum, the Crown Jewels, the Majlis, the university and a munitions factory, as well as spending one day watching manoeuvres by the 1st and 2nd Army Divisions.

3. After three very busy days the Regent and his suite left for Mazandaran and the Caspian coast by train on the morning of 18th June, and spent three days there. The Regent returned by train overnight on the 20th-21st June, but instead of flying immediately to Meshed as planned decided to postpone his pilgrimage until the following day, Wednesday, 22nd June. On the evening of 21st June, a reception was given in

E 8534/1026/93

No. 10

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE IRAQI AMBASSADOR

Anglo-Iraqi Relations

Mr. Bevin to Mr. Trevelyan (Bagdad)

(No. 130. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir,

11th July, 1949.

The Iraqi Ambassador came to take leave of me to-day before returning to Bagdad for the period of the Regent's absence in the United Kingdom. He began by speaking of the negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company, which are at present in a state of deadlock, and said that he had advised Nuri Pasha not to come to London. It was just as well that Nuri had not come. The Ambassador had, in agreement with

Sir H. Mack, advised the Minister of Economics not to break off the negotiations, as he had been instructed to do, but to wait and see whether the company would make any new proposals. He himself would see Nuri Pasha on his return, and would urge him not to be precipitate; but he asked that the Foreign Office should help. I said I would look into the matter.

2. The Emir Zeid then referred briefly to the difficulties caused by the arms embargo and by the financial crisis in Iraq.

and I reminded him that His Majesty's Government had recently found it possible to release some arms.

3. I then asked him what was the trouble between Iraq and Egypt. I hoped that Iraq would do everything possible to put an end to it, since these differences between the Arab Governments hindered His Majesty's Government's efforts to be of help to them. The Arab Governments needed to display solidarity in face of the Jews.

4. I also asked the Ambassador what should be done to help the refugees. His first suggestion was to settle them in the United Kingdom or America, but he went on to express the view, on the understanding that it would not be quoted, that there was no prospect of their being all returned to their homes, and that a joint Jewish-Arab Committee should be set up to arrange for their resettlement. He remarked that it was difficult for any Arab

Government to advance any new proposal on this subject, and that it was not a matter which could be handled by the Arab League.

5. I raised the subject of the Haifa pipe-line. The Emir Zeid replied that it could not be reopened to-day; the Iraq Government had committed themselves in public statements to satisfy public opinion, even though they knew that their embargo was unworkable. They offered two solutions: either a diversion to Acre, if it should become Arab territory, or the internationalisation of Haifa.

6. Finally, he urged me to see the Regent and I promised to do so; and he said he would send me a personal message if there were any difficulties in Bagdad.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to B.M.E.O.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

E 10221/1026/93

No. 11

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE IRAQI PRIME MINISTER

(1) Financial Difficulties; (2) Relations with Israel and Syria

Mr. Bevin to Mr. Trevelyan (Bagdad)

(No. 215. Confidential) *Foreign Office, Sir, 19th August, 1949.*

The Iraqi Prime Minister called to see me to-day. He said that his health was all the better for his visit to the United Kingdom. He still needed a rest, but did not see how it was possible for him to take it.

2. Nuri Pasha explained some of his Government's financial difficulties. The Railway Administration had plans for development costing £12 million but without any financial provision being made for finding this sum. Nuri Pasha hoped to raise £3 million in the City of London to meet the most urgent railway requirements. Other railway projects would have to be suspended. There were also serious Government debts. Nuri Pasha hoped to cover most of these by obtaining a £3 million advance from the Iraq Petroleum Company. He was also having discussions with the International Bank about the financing of public works, particularly for flood control and irrigation. Nuri Pasha would

like the International Bank to provide funds for railway development as well. The loan need not be for more than about five years, since by that time oil royalties would have greatly increased and development projects could be financed from this source.

3. I enquired whether Nuri Pasha had reached agreement with the oil company. He replied that he was asking for equal treatment with that accorded to neighbouring States. The oil company had said they accepted this idea in principle but it had not yet been possible to put the agreement into practice. Nuri Pasha said that in general he was concerned at the slow development of oil in Iraq by the Iraq Petroleum Company, compared, for instance, with the far more rapid development by Arabian American Company in Saudi Arabia. In this connexion he did not intend to agree to the new Middle East pipe-line being laid across Iraq unless there was a guarantee that production of oil in

Iraq should be not less than that in neighbouring States. I said that I would investigate this point.

4. I then said that I thought there had been too long a delay in reopening the Haifa pipe-line terminal and refinery. Nuri Pasha said that he had no objection to oil going to Europe through Haifa, but the refinery would give additional revenue to Israel and before that was done normal relations should be established between Israel and neighbouring States. I pressed Nuri Pasha to say more precisely what he meant by this. What did he want from Israel? He said that he wished to know whether Israel was ready to accept some partition plan for Palestine, either based on the 1947 resolution or on the Bernadotte plan, or at any rate on something which would not give them additional concessions beyond these two plans.

5. I said that I thought a general statement which would cover the very important questions of the refugees, outlets to the sea, the disposition of the Negev, &c., would be more important than a few yards of territory either way. I added that in my view there should be no interruption of communications between Egypt and Trans-jordan, but Israel should somehow have an outlet to the Red Sea. I went on, making it clear that I was speaking without commitment and only thinking aloud, to ask Nuri Pasha for his views on the idea that Haifa port might be run by a Joint Harbour Board on which both Israel and the Arab States might be represented without raising the question of sovereignty. Similarly, a port on the Red Sea might be developed

by another joint enterprise. Nuri Pasha expressed interest in this possibility. It was made clear to him that we did not wish to suggest that the reopening of the Haifa pipe-line should wait for the elaboration of a scheme on these lines. We hoped that, if a tanker passed through the Suez Canal bringing crude oil from the Persian Gulf to Haifa, Nuri Pasha would then find it easier to reopen the Haifa pipe-line. Nuri Pasha agreed that this was so.

6. I then passed to Syria and asked if the rumours were true that there had been a further outbreak of violence there. Nuri Pasha said that this was not true. The present Government had been opposed to the change of the constitution carried through by the former President, Shukry Kuwatly. They had not been able to work with Zaim, but they now wished to hold a constituent assembly to decide on the best method of carrying on parliamentary government. Nuri Pasha thought it was the best Syrian Government there had been for a long time. He said that several members of the Government had previously expressed the wish for greater co-operation amounting even to some kind of union with Iraq. He thought that it might now be possible to proceed in this direction, but slowly and cautiously without offending Egypt and Saudi Arabia. I said that we did not wish to take sides in this matter.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Cairo, Beirut, Damascus, Jedda, Amman, Washington and Paris and to the B.M.E.O.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

E 2852/1571/93

No. 12

POSITION OF THE JEWS IN IRAQ

Manhandling of the Chief Rabbi by Zionist Demonstrators

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 24th October)

(No. 924)

(Telegraphic)

Bagdad,

24th October, 1949.

About 150 Jews assembled near the Chief Rabbi's house yesterday morning and asked him to lead a delegation to protest against the recent arrests of Jews accused of being members of Zionist organisation. When the Chief Rabbi refused this request he was forcibly taken from his house and man-

handled by the demonstrators, who made him accompany them along the principal street of Bagdad. The demonstrators were eventually dispersed by the police who arrested about fifteen persons and rescued the Chief Rabbi. The latter was taken to a police station and subsequently admitted to the Meir Elias hospital.

POSITION OF THE JEWS IN IRAQ

Deputation to the Acting Prime Minister

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 4th November)

(No. 208)
Sir.

Bagdad,
27th October, 1949.

I have the honour to inform you that on the morning following the Jewish demonstration reported in my telegram No. 924 of 24th October, a deputation of leading Iraqi Jews was received by Sayid Umar Nadhmi, the Acting Prime Minister.

2. The deputation consisted of the Chief Rabbi, Sassoon Khedouri, Ibrahim Hayim, an ex-Deputy for Bagdad, Heskail Shantob, a prominent Jewish merchant, and Elyahu Tawfiq. They had not apparently come to protest about the recent arrests of Jews, but the Acting Prime Minister thought it necessary to inform them briefly of the position. He reminded them that Iraq had only recently emerged from a war with Israel, as a result of which, some 800,000 Arabs had been rendered homeless. In spite of this, the Jewish community in Iraq had been protected effectively by the Iraqi Government from their Moslem countrymen. It had, nevertheless, to be realised that when evidence of active and organised Zionism in Iraq came to light, it was the duty of the Iraq Government to investigate, and this was what they were now doing. He himself had given strict instructions that the police should do everything in accordance with the law and that no irregularities would be tolerated.

3. The points raised by the delegation were as follows:—

- (a) That Iraqi Jews should not be subject to special restrictions on travelling outside Iraq.
- (b) That Jews ought not to be dismissed from the Government service simply on the grounds of their race.
- (c) That Jews should not continue to be prohibited from buying and selling real property.
- (d) That there should not be any discrimination against Iraqi Jews entering the professions.

4. To these points the Acting Prime Minister is reported to have replied on the following lines:—

- (a) The Iraqi Government were intending shortly to liberalise the conditions under which Jews might leave the country.
- (b) He was personally opposed to dismissals on the ground of race and did not think that a large number of these had taken place. There were usually other reasons for any dismissals.
- (c) This restriction would be automatically removed as soon as martial law was raised.
- (d) This complaint had also been received from other minorities such as the Shias and Kirds, and efforts were being made to meet it by introducing a system of quotas by liwas for entrance to the various training colleges.

5. The Acting Prime Minister's reply on the question of dismissals of Jews from Government service was hardly to the point as there has, in fact, since the beginning of the war in Palestine, been a wholesale dismissal of Jews from Government service on one pretext or another.

6. However, apart from this and viewing the situation of the Jews in this country as a whole in the light of the new situation brought about by the establishment of the state of Israel, I think it is fair to remark that the Iraq Government has shown tolerance in their dealings with the Iraqi Jews; and this is borne out by the fact that a Jewish deputation should have been received and answered in the manner I have described at a time when the Israeli Government is issuing provocative statements.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Tel Aviv and to the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

POSITION OF THE JEWS IN IRAQ

Memorandum Listing Jewish Grievances

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 14th November)

(No. 210)

Sir,

Bagdad,
3rd November, 1949.

In my despatch No. 208 (369/36/49) of 27th October, I reported on a visit which a delegation of leading Iraqi Jews paid to the Iraqi Acting Prime Minister on 24th October to bring to his attention various grievances of the Jewish community in Iraq. A few days later, on 29th October, the Chief Rabbi, Sassoon Khedouri, who had led the delegation earlier in the week, again called on the Acting Prime Minister, primarily in order to tender his resignation. (Apparently, although the Jewish community elect the Chief Rabbi, his appointment has to be confirmed by the Government). Sayid Umar Nadhmi did his best to persuade the Chief Rabbi not to resign and he thinks that he has succeeded in inducing him to reconsider the matter.

2. As the Chief Rabbi left he handed to the Acting Prime Minister a memorandum on the Jewish grievances, containing the points raised by the delegation which had called earlier in the week, together with some additional ones, as follows:—

- (1) Failure of the Government to restrain the newspapers from inflaming public opinion against the Jews.
- (2) Large numbers of dismissals of Jews from the Government service.
- (3) Discrimination against Jews in the granting of import and export licences.
- (4) Prohibition for Jews to purchase and sell real property.
- (5) Discrimination against Jews in the matter of entering into higher educational establishments.

- (6) Difficulties for Jews in obtaining passports and visas for foreign travel.
- (7) The policy of not training Jewish conscripts in the Iraqi army in the use of arms but of employing them on non-combatant duties.
- (8) Harsh assessments of property and income tax on Jews.
- (9) Discrimination against Jews in the issue and cancellation of firearms licences.
- (10) The searching of Jewish houses by the police at night.

3. The Acting Prime Minister asked Mr. Ditchburn, the British Inspector at the Ministry of Interior, to call at the Embassy and inform us about this. According to Mr. Ditchburn, Sayid Umar Nadhmi did not wish to institute a general governmental enquiry into the validity or otherwise of these complaints, since he considered that much the best thing would be if the Jews could be persuaded to withdraw their memorandum. Mr. Ditchburn had, however, been instructed to enquire whether there was anything which we could do to persuade the Jews to withdraw the memorandum. The Oriental Counsellor, who saw Mr. Ditchburn, told him that it was of course quite impossible for this Embassy to have direct dealings with the Jewish community about a dispute between them and the Iraqi Government.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Tel Aviv and to the head of the British Middle East Office in Cairo.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

POSITION OF THE JEWS IN IRAQ

Anti-Iraqi Demonstrations in New York

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Bevin. (Received 9th November)

(No. 973)

(Telegraphic)

Bagdad,
9th November, 1949.

My telegram No. 945: Jews in Iraq
Minister for Foreign Affairs summoned the United States Chargé d'Affaires yester-

day and drew his attention to a report from the Iraqi Consulate in New York of Jewish demonstrations against Iraq in New York on 8th November. The Minister handed to the United States Chargé d'Affaires a

memorandum asking him to communicate to his Government the violent reaction which the Iraqi Government fear might take place in Iraq if news of these demonstrations became known here. The Iraqi Government stated they had banned publication of the news, but were still apprehensive that it might become known, and they disclaimed

responsibility for the consequences to public security which might be caused.

2. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs have sent me copies of a telegram from their Consulate in New York and of the memorandum handed [group undecypherable ? to the] United States Chargé d'Affaires, text follows by bag.

E 15078, 1571/53

No. 16

PERSECUTION OF JEWS IN IRAQ

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Attlee.

(Received 19th December)

(No. 236. Confidential) Bagdad,
Sir, 12th December, 1949.

With reference to my telegram No. 973 of 9th November and previous correspondence on the alleged persecution of Jews in Iraq, it may be of interest to examine rather more fully the position of Jews in this country and the extent to which it has been adversely affected by the establishment of the Jewish State of Israel.

2. There are no official figures of the size of the Jewish community in Iraq. The World Jewish Congress, in a recent memorandum to the United Nations, estimated that there are between 130,000 and 140,000 Jews in Iraq, of whom some 95,000 live in Bagdad and the remainder in provincial towns. An estimate made by the United States Embassy in March 1949 is as follows:—

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-----|---------|
| Urban Jews— | | | |
| Bagdad | ... | ... | 90,000 |
| Other towns | ... | ... | 30,000 |
| Rural Jews | ... | ... | 60,000 |
| Total | ... | ... | 180,000 |

This estimate of the number of rural Jews appears much too high. There are a few Jewish villagers in Mosul liwa, who are almost indistinguishable from their Kurdish neighbours, while in the south there are a few centres of Jewish pilgrimage such as Ezekiel's tomb at Kifl and Ezra's tomb between Amara and Basra where small communities exist which are largely maintained by charitable funds.

3. The great majority of Iraqi Jews are engaged in finance and commerce in the towns. The junior staffs of the three British banks and of many foreign and Iraqi Moslem commercial companies are almost entirely composed of Jews. Something like 75 per cent. of Iraqi import trade

is in their hands, while the internal distribution of imported goods is also, though to a lesser extent, dominated by them. The financing of small-scale business and internal trade in Iraq is done by "Sarrafis" (money-lenders), a high proportion of whom are Jews. They own many of Bagdad's more modern residential and office buildings.

4. The principal allegations brought against the Iraqi Government in respect of their treatment of Jews during the last two years are as follows: first, courts martial are alleged to have been used to persecute Jews and to have inflicted disproportionate sentences on them. A subsidiary allegation is that Jews under arrest or in prison have been subjected to torture and inhumane conditions. Secondly, the Iraqi Government is accused of having dismissed without adequate reason large numbers of Jewish Government officials. Thirdly, the Iraqi Government is said to have restricted unfairly Jewish professional and commercial activities and to have assessed Jews harshly and unjustly for taxation. Fourthly, Jews are alleged to have had their freedom of movement severely restricted.

5. In regard to the first allegation, the worst excesses were committed by the 3rd District Court Martial in Basra in the summer of 1948. A regular campaign of delation was carried on against Jews, some of them holding responsible positions in the port, railways or foreign firms, who were for the most part quite above suspicion of taking any but a sentimental interest in Zionism. Heavy sentences were inflicted for such offences as making fun of volunteers for the Arab Liberation army. It is not possible to obtain complete details of these cases, since the hearings were held in secret. Apart from the case of Ades, on

which I reported fully at the time, the most flagrant case of injustice which was reported to me was that of a retired Jewish judge, who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for having delivered a judgment in 1922 in a case concerning a bequest by a Basra Jew to some charitable object in Palestine. He was, however, specially pardoned and released after serving three months. The responsibility for this campaign, which culminated in the execution of Ades on 23rd September, 1948, rests largely on the president of the Law Courts in Basra, and on the president of the 3rd District Court Martial, whom Ades accused on the scaffold of being personally responsible for his unjust execution, but the Minister of Defence, Sadiq al Bassam, was certainly guilty of encouraging the excesses of his subordinate officials. The chargé d'affaires brought this campaign to the notice of the Prime Minister, Muzahim al Pachachi, in July 1948, and soon after Ades's execution it was brought to an end by the closing down of the Basra Court Martial and the forced resignation of the Minister of Defence.

6. Since then matters have considerably improved, but there is no doubt that the persecuting of members of the families of Iraqi Jews who have made their way to Palestine has continued. These cases seem to be based on evidence contained in letters from Palestine intercepted by the censor. During October 1949, according to press reports, fourteen Jews were sentenced *in absentia* to seven years' imprisonment and fines varying from ID.500 to ID.2,000. In the same period ten Jews were bound over and required to deposit guarantees of sums varying between ID.100 and ID.1,000. Some of these bore the same names as those sentenced *in absentia* and are presumably related to them. One Jew was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for attempting to go to Israel.

7. The second main count against the Iraqi Government of having dismissed Jews wholesale from Government service, is also undeniable. The following are the numbers of Jews dismissed from the various Government departments in 1948 and 1949. These figures were given to us by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs:—

| | |
|--|-----|
| Ministry of Social Affairs ... | 159 |
| Ministry of Finance ... | 51 |
| Iraqi State Railways ... | 261 |
| Directorate-General of Ports ... | 109 |
| Directorate-General of Posts and Telegraphs ... | 38 |

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| | |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| Public Works Department ... | 24 |
| Ministry of Economics ... | 11 |
| Ministry of Interior ... | 21 |
| Ministry of Defence ... | 4 |
| Ministry of Education ... | 117 |
| Department of Civil Aviation ... | 1 |
| Total ... | 796 |

The reasons for the dismissals are not given except in the case of those from the Ministry of Social Affairs. Of the dismissals from this Ministry between 90 and 100 are attributed to abolition of post, about 30 were due to refusal of the official to take up his new post after transfer, and the remainder to such reasons as misconduct or failing to return from scholastic leave abroad. Only four officials of this Ministry were dismissed on recommendations from the military district authorities. In judging these dismissals it must be remembered that the war was going badly in Palestine and that Jews held a disproportionate number of key positions in the administration of vital Iraqi communications. It must also be remembered that the period was one of acute financial difficulty for the Iraqi Government.

8. It is more difficult to discover the justice of the accusations of discrimination against Jews in their commercial and economic life. It is true that one Jewish bank has been deprived of its licence to deal in foreign exchange, but whether this was due to mere suspicion or to definite evidence of attempts to transfer funds illegally to Palestine, it is impossible to say. There is some evidence of discrimination against Jews in the matter of obtaining import licenses, but the more influential Jews have nevertheless been able to obtain them. Although Jews are often assessed more heavily for taxation than are Moslems, this has always been the case to some extent. It would perhaps be fair to say that the economic difficulties from which Iraq is now suffering have been aggravated by the anxieties of the Jewish community for their own safety. Credit has been restricted by Jewish lack of confidence. Moslems have attributed the unwillingness of Jews to risk their money to a definite policy on their part of injuring Iraq's economy. The vicious circle of suspicion thus set up has undoubtedly injured Jewish economic life, but whether the Jewish business community has suffered disproportionately to the Iraqi business community as a whole is not easy to determine.

9. The fourth main count against the Iraqi Government of restricting freedom of movement of Jews is true, though there are indications of the Government's intention to lift some of these restrictions in the near future. In spite of these restrictions a number of Iraqi Jews have made their way to Persia and thence to Israel, although it is not possible to give any accurate figures of this exodus.

10. All this has been going on since the introduction of martial law in May 1948, and it is difficult to see why the Zionist organisations abroad seized on the arrests of suspected Iraqi Zionists early in October 1949, to start a press and propaganda campaign against Iraq's treatment of her Jewish citizens unless for the reason that Israel wished to offset the bad impression made on the United Nations Organisation by her obstructive attitude over Palestine and in particular her refusal to agree to the repatriation of Arab Palestinian refugees. The desire to reawaken American Jewry's financial interest in Israel, as suggested in Washington telegram 5045 to you, may also have played its part.

11. This episode in itself does not seem to be of much importance. A total of sixty Jews were arrested, but they have not yet been tried. The wildest allegations of brutality have been made against the police, who are said to have subjected the prisoners to savage tortures. I have no doubt that the "third degree" methods current in all oriental and some occidental police forces were used, but not a single specific case of torture has been brought to my notice. The name given by the Israeli ambassador in Washington to the State Department in his letter of 18th October, does not appear among those arrested in this case.

12. The position of Jews in Iraq has deteriorated since May 1948, as was to be expected and as Iraqi spokesmen had warned the United Nations that it would. Martial law has been grossly abused to the detriment of Jewish individuals and the Jewish community does not now enjoy such equality of economic opportunity as it did in the past. But the attempt of Zionist organisations to describe the present conditions of Jews in Iraq as parallel to those during Hitler's persecution of Jews in Germany, is unjustifiable. The statement contained in a letter addressed by the World Jewish Congress to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 8th November, that "the bodies of four detained Jews were handed over, in the best

Nazi fashion, to the Jewish community," is not only untrue, but is clearly designed to create prejudice. The treatment of Iraqi Jews is not creditable to the Iraq Government, and they cannot be defended against charges of discrimination, but they have maintained order in circumstances of some difficulty and so prevented any repetition of the killing and looting of Jews which took place after the defeat of the Iraqi army in 1941.

13. In default of a settlement with Israel acceptable to the Arabs, it is, I fear, inevitable that the Jewish community in Iraq will live in some insecurity, and it seems probable that this ancient community will decline in numbers and influence. It does not seem to me, however, that the suggestion of the World Jewish Congress that they will be totally destroyed has any foundation whatever.

14. Both this embassy and the United States Embassy have from time to time made informal inquiries of the Iraq Government on this subject which have probably served a useful purpose. To conclude this despatch I have the honour to enclose a translation of a memorandum prepared for the United States Ambassador by the Iraqi Ministry for Foreign Affairs in which an account is given of the Iraq Government's attitude to Jews. This memorandum was asked for by Mr. Crocker on his return from leave in November in order that the State Department might make use of it as material with which to answer Zionist representations to them. It does not specifically answer the accusations brought against the Iraqi Government. It points to the good position the Jews have always held in Iraq, quotes the numbers of Jews and non-Jews convicted by the courts martial, points to earlier warnings by the Iraqi Government that successful Zionism would cause difficulties for Jews in Arab countries, suggests that Jews have joined Communist organisations in Iraq from Zionist motives, and invites the United States Government to send neutral persons to see for themselves first, how Arabs are treated in Palestine and then how Jews are treated in Iraq. "Non-extremist Jews" may be included. At the time of writing this despatch there is no indication that this offer has been accepted.

I am sending copies of this despatch to Washington and The British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

Enclosure in No. 16

(Received by United States Embassy,
18th November, 1949)

*Government of Iraq,
Ministry for Foreign Affairs.*

The Iraqi Government has all along followed a policy of religious leniency with the followers of all the religions and communities in Iraq. There is no proof whatsoever that Iraq has deviated from that policy towards its citizens irrespective of what community they may be. The successive Iraqi Governments have been cautious towards the developments of the Palestine issue lest it would lead one day to the disturbance of the good relations between its citizens in Iraq, and create problems amongst themselves. At the Palestine Conference held in London in 1939, his Excellency Nuri As-Said cautioned against the problems and complications which might arise out of Zionist extremism, their persistence to do harm to the Arabs, and usurpation of their lands. He pointed out that this would be reflected on the relations between the Iraqi citizens and would thus lead to the deterioration of those relations. In spite of all that happened, the Jewish community in Iraq and particularly in Bagdad is still enjoying the same freedom and protection accorded to the other inhabitants of Iraq within the limits of the Constitution and the Iraqi laws in force.

As an explanation we state the following:—

(a) Many of the high political, judicial and administrative posts and others have been entrusted to the Jews ever since the establishment of the national rule in Iraq and up to the present. Iraqi Government departments are thronged with Jewish officials and employees and their proportion in the government departments is very big in comparison to their population in Iraq, which is higher than any other community. Moreover, they enjoy the same rights accorded to the other officials, and also enjoy their own religious holidays.

(b) The Jews dominate the markets and constitute a great proportion from among the administrative committees of the commercial chambers. They own great wealth, exceeding by far that owned by all the other minority communities. They would

not have attained this position and control unless they enjoyed full freedom from all aspects.

(c) They have their own religious courts and their lay councils, which are officially recognised by the Government to conduct the affairs of the community, in addition to their equality in civil rights with all the other citizens as set out in the Iraqi Constitution, which does not distinguish between citizens, irrespective of their religion, race or colour.

(d) Government schools and colleges are open for Jews and non-Jews alike. Nevertheless the Jewish community has private schools to which the Ministry of Education allocates grants annually for their aid, apart from the Government expenditure on Jewish bursary students who are sent abroad for study and specialisation like other citizens.

2. When the Iraqi Government was compelled to intervene militarily in Palestine to save the Arab inhabitants, from Jewish terrorism, it found it necessary to proclaim martial law in Iraq for protecting the rear lines of its units. The proclamation of martial law was not directed against the Jews alone, but also affected all the population of Iraq. The number of non-Jews convicted by the court martial exceeds by far the number of the Jews. The number of Jewish convicts amounted to 276 persons, most of whom were convicted for disseminating destructive Communist and Zionist ideologies, compared with 1,118 non-Jews, most of whom were convicted for impairing security.

3. What the Iraqi Government feared and tried to avoid had happened. Zionism had exploited Iraqi Jews for their ends and interest, and induced them to participate in provocative demonstrations and destructive Communist activities. There is nothing strange in this, as most of the Zionist leaders believe in the Communist ideology on one side, and work to hamper Government functions on the other, in order to divert its attention from the Palestine issue. It has actually been proved from the documents the Government has found with the Communist organisations in Iraq, that there were no Jews among their members before the appearance of the Palestine question in its real shape, and the commencement of military operations in Palestine. Many of them have

since that time joined the clandestine Iraqi Communist Party and worked earnestly until they were able to assume the leadership of the party and most of its cells, and orientate it towards their objective.

The Government has in hand documents about the participation of the Iraqi Jews in the Zionist movement and their conspiracy against the security of Iraq, which documents have previously been perused by the Conciliation Commission and some of which also perused by the Economic Commission delegated by the Conciliation Commission; for it has been proved that a great number of Iraqi Jews have participated with the Jewish forces in Palestine and had fought the Iraqi forces in Palestine. It has also been proved to the Government that the smuggling of those Jews was accomplished with the aid of the secret Zionist societies, of which the following three have been discovered:—

- (1) Al Tannoua Society ("Movement").
- (2) Al Meizma ("Idea").
- (3) Kudoth Society ("Symbolic Expression").

Some of their members have been arrested, about whom investigations are now being conducted. In view of the discovery of these secret societies which are working against the interests and security of Iraq, the Jews in Bagdad organised an artificial demonstration with the object of covering the activities of the said societies. Furthermore, the staging of those demonstrations is contrary to the court-martial law which banned demonstrations irrespective of their aim. Nevertheless, the Government sent a police force to protect the demonstrators against a possible outrage by the public, which was in a state of excitement and indignation against them.

4. The Jews, like other citizens, were referred to the courts for having committed crimes against the laws in force and against the safety of the State, to receive their punishment. However, the sentences passed against them were much lighter as compared with the sentences passed against other citizens who committed similar acts.

As an instance—

- (a) The maximum penalty imposed on a Jew for impairing security was imprisonment for a period of three years whereas seven non-Jewish citizens who committed similar crimes, were sentenced to death and seventeen for life imprisonment.

(b) The sentences passed on the Jews who staged the demonstration in question are as follows:—

| No. of persons | Period |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| Nine ... | Three years' imprisonment. |
| Six ... | Two years' imprisonment. |
| Four ... | Acquitted. |
| One ... | Released on 300 dinar cash bail. |

The attorney who defended some of them in the court is Ahmed Hafidh, a Moslem Deputy, whereas other demonstrators who are non-Jews and non-Communists were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. This will clearly show the degree of sympathy and compassion enjoyed by the Jews in Iraq. It is worthwhile mentioning that there is not one of high standing among the Jewish convicts, and had there been any persecution, it would have included such persons in the first place.

5. The Iraqi Government has done all this notwithstanding the injustices and atrocities committed by the Jews against the peaceful inhabitants and against their women, and the consequent losses of property and life, including children, women and aged persons, in addition to the hundreds of thousands of refugees who have thronged the Arab cities and refugee camps. All this is well-known to world public opinion and American opinion in particular, and the United Nations is still continuing its efforts to alleviate the plight of those desperate refugees and save them from the annihilation surrounding them. It is surprising that Zionist advocates in America should pretend to have forgotten all this and seek to exploit American influence and provoke public opinion there against an act which was only undertaken by the Iraqi Government for the maintenance of security and order and the application of the laws in the country. It is strange that this allegation should be exploited, that Iraq is adopting against the Jews a policy which is incompatible with human rules or is a violation of human rights. This artificial accusation is only aimed at misleading American public opinion and covering the atrocities still being committed every day in Palestine.

The Iraqi Government therefore suggests in this connexion that the American Government send to Palestine neutral persons, who may include non-extremist Jews, in order to see for themselves the situation there and the degree of persecution and various kinds of injustices and ill-treatment suffered by the Arabs, all

of which are aimed at their annihilation, expulsion, or destitution, and then come to Iraq to see for themselves the rights being enjoyed by the Iraqi Jews, so that they may pass their judgment on what they have witnessed.

Finally, the Iraqi Government wishes to state that Israel is still situated in the middle of the Arab States and that it will continue to provoke the Jews in the Arab

States and create problems and disturbances by various methods as a means to weaken the Arab States in order to implement its ends on one side, and then to raise its voice by way of protest and complaint on the other. This would lead to the disturbance of security and the threatening of peace in this part of the Middle East.

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No. 17

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN IRAQ

Sir H. Mack to Mr. Attlee, (Received 19th December)

(No. 237. Confidential) Bagdad,
Sir, 12th December, 1949.

With reference to my despatch No. 296 of 4th October, 1948, I have the honour to transmit herewith a report of the leading personalities of Iraq as at 1st November, 1949.

2. Last year's report has been brought up to date and six new names have been added.

I have, &c.

HENRY B. MACK.

Enclosure in No. 17

Leading Personalities in Iraq

Royal Family

1. King Feisal II.
2. Abdul Illah, His Royal Highness the Amir.
3. Zaid, His Royal Highness the Amir.
4. Hussein Naair.

Other Personalities

1. Abbas Mahdi.
2. Abdul Amir al Uzri.
3. Abdul Aziz al-Mudhaffar.
4. Abdul Aziz al-Qasab.
5. Abdul Fattah bin Ibrahim.
6. Abdul Hadi Chalabi.
7. Abdul Hadi al Pachachi, Dr.
8. Abdul Hadi Dhahir.
9. Abdul Illah Hafidh.
10. Abdul Jabbar al Chalabi.
11. Abdul Latif Nuri.
12. Abdul Mahdi (Saiyid).
13. Abdul Majid Alawi.
14. Abdul Qadir al-Gilani.
15. Abdul Qadir al-Rashid.
16. Abdul Razzaq Hussein.
17. Abdul Razzaq al Uzri.
18. Abdul Wahab Mahmud.
19. Abdul al Wahab Murjan.
20. Abdul Wahid Shaikh.
21. Abdullah al-Damduji.
22. Abdullah Qasab.
23. Ahmad, Shaikh of Barzan.
24. Ahmad Mukhtar Baban.
25. Ahmad al Rawi.
26. Ahmad-i-Taufiq.
27. Ahmad Zaki al-Khairyat.
28. Akram Mushraq.
29. Ali Haidar Sulaiman.

30. Ali Jaudat.
31. Ali Khalid al Hejazi (Saiyid).
32. Ali Mahmud Shaikh Ali.
33. Ali Muntaz.
34. Ali Shukur.
35. Alwan bin Hussein.
36. Anan Zaki Sulaiman.
37. Arshad al-Umari.
38. Asim al-Naqib (Saiyid).
39. Ata Amin.
40. Aziz Sherif.
41. Baba Ali Shaikh Mahmud.
42. Babekr Agha.
43. Babu ad Din Nuri.
44. Darwish al Haidari.
45. Daud al Haidari.
46. Daud al Sa'adi (Saiyid).
47. Dha Ja'far.
48. Fadhil Jumali, Dr.
49. Faiq Samarra.
50. Hamid Naqib.
51. Hanna Khairyat.
52. Hashim Jawad.
53. Hazim ibn Yusuf Pasha.
54. Hikmat Sulaiman.
55. Husain Fauzi bin-Hassan.
56. Ibrahim Akil al-Alousi.
57. Ismail Namiq.
58. Ismail Safwat.
59. Ibrahim Saleh al Kabir.
60. Jafar Hamandi.
61. Jalal Baban.
62. Jamal Baban.
63. Jamil al-Rawi.
64. Jamil al-Madani.
65. Jamil al-Wadi.
66. Jamil Abdul Wahhab.
67. Jehran Malkon.
68. Katil al Chadirehi.
69. Khalid Sulaiman.
70. Khalid Zahawi.
71. Khalid Ismail.
72. Khushaba Malik.
73. Mahmud Abdul Karim.
74. Mahmud Agha Zibari.
75. Mahmud Subhi Daftari.
76. Mahmud Shaikh.
77. Mahmut bin Haddhal.
78. Majid Mustafa.
79. Mar Shimon.
80. Maulud Mukhlis.
81. Munfiq al-Alousi.
82. Mudhaffar Ahmed.
83. Muhammad Ali Mahmud.
84. Muhammad Amin Zaki.
85. Muhammad Hassan Kubba.
86. Muhammad Hussein el Hadid.

87. Muhammad Husain Kashif-al-Ghata (Saiyid).
88. Muhammad Mehdi Kubba.
89. Muhammad Ridha-al-Shabibi.
90. Muhammad Sahih-al-Qazzaz.
91. Muhammad al-Sadr (Saiyid).
92. Muhammad Salim al-Radda.
93. Mulla Mustafa.
94. Musa Shabandar.
95. Muzahim-al-Amin Pachachi.
96. Mustafa-al-Umari.
97. Nadim bin Shakir al Pachachi, Dr.
98. Naji-al-Asil, Dr.
99. Naji Shaukat.
100. Nakhif Shawi.
101. Najib al-Rawi.
102. Nasrat al-Farisi.
103. Nishat al-Sanawi.
104. Nureddin Mahmoud.
105. Nuri al-Qadhi.
106. Nuri al-Said.
107. Rafail Petrus Butti.
108. Rashid Ali-al-Gilani.
109. Rashid al-Khojib.
110. Rauf-al-Bahrani.
111. Rauf-al-Chadirehi.
112. Rauf-al-Kubaisi.
113. Razzag Ghannam.
114. Sabih Nujib.
115. Sadiq al-Bussam.
116. Said Haqqi.
117. Salih Jabr.
118. Salih Saib.
119. Salman-ad-Shaikh Daud.
120. Sami Fattah.
121. Sami Shaukat.
122. Selim Terzi.
123. Shakir-al-Na'ama.
124. Shukir al-Wadi.
125. Shawkat-al-Zahawi, Dr.
126. Sufuq-al-Ajl.
127. Taha-al-Hashimi.
128. Tahsin Ali.
129. Taha Qadri.
130. Talib Mushraq.
131. Taufiq-al-Suwaidi.
132. Taufik Wahbi Muroof.
133. Thabit Abdul Nur.
134. Umar Nazmi.
135. Yahya Qasim.
136. Yunis Bahri.
137. Yusuf bin Saiyid Abdullah al-Gailani.
138. Yusuf Ghanimah.
139. Yusuf Iz-al-Din.

Leading Personalities in Iraq

Royal Family

1. King Feisal II

Born in Bagdad the 2nd May, 1895. Succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, Ghazi I, on the 3rd April, 1939. His mother is a sister of the Amir Abdul Illah.

He and his mother were confined in the Qasr Zahur during most of May 1941, but were removed to the summer palace at Fir Mum (Arbil) just before Rashid Ali and his associates decamped. He is a bright, intelligent child, though somewhat delicate with a tendency to asthma. His Majesty visited Egypt in April 1943, proceeding and returning via Palestine and Transjordan. In 1944 he again spent the summer at Alexandria. In 1945 he did not leave the country.

In June 1946 the King paid his first visit to England. He was present at the Victory celebrations on 8th June and afterwards was the guest of The King and Queen at Buckingham Palace. He was accompanied by the Queen-Mother and the

Princesses. Early in 1946 an English tutor was appointed to succeed the governess who had previously been in charge of his studies. The Regent decided that, on his return from England, the King should start to learn Kurdish.

In 1947 it was decided that His Majesty should continue his education in England, and he has now completed a year at Sandroyd preparatory school where his health has improved and he has shown promise.

He entered Harrow, his father's old school, in May 1949.

2. Abdul Illah, His Royal Highness the Amir

Only son of Ali-bin-Hussein, ex-King of the Hejaz, who died in 1935. Born in the Hejaz 1912. Came to Bagdad as a child with father in 1926, after the latter's expulsion from the Hejaz. Educated partly at home and partly at Victoria College, Alexandria.

He speaks good English.

In November 1936 he married in Bagdad the daughter of Salah-al-Din Fauzi Beg and granddaughter of Atain Yahiyah Pasha of Cairo.

He is keenly interested in Arab horse racing and maintains a large stable.

Became Regent on the death of King Ghazi on the 3rd April, 1939.

In November 1943 he was declared Heir to the Throne under the provisions of an amendment to the Organic Law passed in October.

Divorced his wife in the summer of 1940.

During the Cabinet crisis of January 1941, which led to the fall of Rashid Ali's Cabinet, he endeavoured to resist the Prime Minister's demands for the appointment of new Ministers, but fled to Diwanayah to escape the threats to his life made by the four army officers, Salah-ad-Din Sabbagh, Kamil Shabib, Fahmi Saad and Mahmud Salim. Rashid Ali thereupon resigned and Taha al Hashimi succeeded him. The Regent then returned to the capital.

During the night of the 1st April the four army commanders already mentioned occupied the city with their troops and went to the Palace to demand the resignation of Taha al Hashimi and the appointment of Rashid Ali as Prime Minister. The Regent was, however, warned in time, eluded them and took refuge in the American Legation. Thence he was smuggled out to Habbaniya on the 2nd April and flown to Basra. On instructions from Bagdad the Officer Commanding Iraq army, at Basra attempted to arrest the Regent, who took refuge on board one of His Majesty's ships. By now any hope of rallying support for his cause in the south had been lost. On the 16th April he was flown to Jerusalem, together with Ali Jaudat and Jamil Madfal, who had meanwhile joined him at Basra. During the hostilities in May the Regent remained in Palestine. He returned to Bagdad on the 1st June after the collapse of Rashid Ali's régime and was welcomed by a large gathering of officials, notables and well-wishers.

Since then, he has taken his public duties seriously and has done his best to establish his position among the people. He has undoubtedly developed in character during the past five years and has, on several occasions, shown marked firmness and powers of decision, but he lacks the personality which appeals to the imagination of the public and is painfully shy. Like all weak men he suffers from too much advice and is apt to believe the last person he has spoken to.

He was made an Honorary Air Commodore in the Royal Air Force in September 1943. He caused a Cabinet crisis in September 1943 by injudicious interference in the choice of Government candidates for the General Election. He has, however, shown sound sense in his desire to reform the Administration and improve the general condition of the

country. At the invitation of His Majesty's Government the Regent paid an extensive visit to the United Kingdom in December 1943. For three days he was the guest of Their Majesties the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace. He returned delighted with the hospitality shown to him and much impressed by Britain's war effort.

During 1944 the Regent toured extensively within the country and paid particular attention to the army manoeuvres which he constantly attended. In June he visited Alexandria, returning early in July. In September he again visited Transjordan and Egypt. He paid a second brief visit to Transjordan in February 1945.

In the spring of 1945 he was much discouraged by Mr. Churchill's failure to invite him to join King Ibn Saud and others for talks in Cairo. This led to a threat of abdication.

In May 1945 he left on an official visit to the United States, returning via Canada and Britain. In London he was twice received by the King, met the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet and attended the Victory Thanksgiving Service. He also visited the occupied area of Germany. He returned via France and Italy, whence he proceeded on an official visit to the President of the Turkish Republic before returning to Iraq in September. While in the United States he displayed irresponsible extravagance, spending over \$200,000 on jewellery. He has also invested heavily, at the cost of grave indebtedness, in speculative industrial enterprises in Bagdad. All this is generally known and has markedly decreased his prestige, and may give rise to serious political complications.

The Regent was created G.C.M.G. in 1942 and G.C.V.O., with the award of the Royal Victorian Collar, in 1949.

The Regent visited London in the summer of both 1946 and 1947. In 1946 he attended the victory celebrations on 8th June, and in 1947 he paid official visits to France and Belgium as well as to London. He and Nuri Pasha held informal discussions with the Foreign Office in September 1947 about the Iraqi Government's desire to replace the 1936 Treaty. He was, therefore, to some extent committed personally to the terms of the Portsmouth Treaty and was placed in a very difficult position by the popular demonstrations against it in Bagdad in January 1948. He did not extricate himself from this position with undiminished credit.

Took a personal part in the unsuccessful efforts to unify the war effort of the Arab States against Israel and paid many visits to the Iraqi Army in Palestine.

Married a second Egyptian lady, Mlle. Faiza Tarabulsi, in November 1948.

Paid a State visit to the Shah of Persia in June 1949. Visited England later in the summer.

3. Zaid, His Royal Highness the Amir

Born in Constantinople in 1900. Youngest son of the late King Hussein of the Hejaz. Half-brother of King Ali, King Feisal and the Amir Abdullah (of Transjordan). His mother was a Turk. Educated in Constantinople. Fought with the Arab Nationalist forces during the Great War, and won the good opinion of the British officers with the Sharifian army. Made a G.B.E. for his services in the war of 1914-18.

Came to live in Iraq in 1922, and was commissioned in the Iraqi cavalry. Acted as Regent for a short time in 1924 during King Feisal's absence.

In 1925 he went to England and studied agriculture at Oxford for nearly three years. During this period he took an active part in the social life of the university and rowed in the torpids for Balliol. In 1929 he joined his father in Cyprus and remained there until King Hussein's death in 1931. Appointed Iraqi Minister at Angora in January 1932.

In 1933 it became known that one of his sisters had contracted a clandestine marriage with Atta Beg Amin, some time first secretary at the Iraqi Legation at Angora (and later at the Legation in London). The Royal Family were indignant, and Zaid was transferred to Cairo in January 1934 as the first Iraqi Minister at King Fuad's Court. He did not, however, proceed to this post, which he ultimately refused to accept. At the end of 1934 he was busy in Athens engaged in litigation concerning extensive properties which he claims to have inherited in Greece. Appointed Iraqi Minister at Berlin in September 1935. In the spring of 1937 it was suspected that he had been using his position as Iraqi Minister to give false certificates for arms destined for Spain. He was recalled to Iraq for enquiries, but apparently established his innocence and returned to Berlin.

He is a pleasant, well-mannered man. A shrewd and somewhat cynical observer. He likes his easy private life in Istanbul and is reluctant to assume official responsibilities. He speaks excellent English and Turkish.

In 1933 he married a Turkish lady who had been divorced by her husband. She is agreeable and flamboyant with artistic pretensions. She is never seen in Iraq. This *indiscreet* marriage mattered little so long as he was not living in Iraq, but when he was withdrawn from Berlin in the spring of 1938 and came to live in Bagdad it was resented against him locally. But for his wife he would probably have been made Regent after the death of King Ghazi in April 1939. In the summer of 1939 he went to live in Istanbul.

Came to Bagdad in October 1941 to meet his brother the Amir Abdullah on the occasion of his State visit to the capital and remained for some time living quietly in a small house.

He returned to Turkey in June 1942. Accompanied by his wife, he came to Bagdad in November 1943 to act as Regent while the Amir Abdul Illah was in England, and remained until May 1944, when he went back to Turkey.

He returned to Iraq in 1945 to act as Regent during the Amir Abdullah's absence in America and Europe.

In 1946 he acted in a similar capacity. When, in 1946, agreement was reached that the Iraqi Mission in London should be raised to the status of an embassy, he was nominated as the first Iraqi Ambassador.

He came to Bagdad in the summer of 1949 to act as Regent and returned to London in October.

4. Hussein Nasir

Cousin of the King and Regent with the style of "Highness."

Studied in Istanbul during the 1914-18 war. Attached to the Iraqi Legation at Angora from 1935 to 1938. He later held an appointment in the Palace at Bagdad. Iraqi Consul in Jerusalem from 1946 to 1948. Married to a daughter of King Abdullah of Jordan, whose service he entered in 1948. Appointed Jordanian Minister at Angora in December 1948. A good-humoured genial person without pronounced personality.

Other Personalities

1. Abbas Mahdi

Shiah. Born 1898. Secretary to Iraqi Legation in Tehran 1931. Minister for Education, November 1932. Resigned with Cabinet in March 1933. Appointed Director-General of Tapu in October 1933.

Became Minister for Economics and Communications in February 1934, but resigned with Jamil-al-Madfal's Cabinet in August 1934. Reappointed Director-General of Tapu, December 1934.

Appointed Master of Ceremonies in the Palace, March 1937. Joined Hikmat Sulaiman's Cabinet in June 1937 as Minister for Economics and Communications, and was appointed Minister for Justice in the Cabinet formed by Jamil al-Midfai in August 1937 after Hikmat Sulaiman's resignation.

Transferred to the Ministry of Economics and Communications in October 1938, and resigned with whole Cabinet in December 1938.

Appointed Principal Private Secretary at the Royal Palace in July 1941.

Appointed Minister at Tehran in January 1943. Pleasant but without personality. Returned to Iraq in June 1945 and appointed first Iraqi Minister in Moscow.

Proceeded in November 1945 full of gloom. After a holiday in Stockholm, returned to Baghdad in October 1946 ostensibly on leave. He has since returned to his post.

Returned to Baghdad finally in 1948 and was made a Senator in March 1949.

2. Abdul Amir al Uzri

Shia, born Kadhima in 1899. Educated Baghdad and United States, where he graduated from Michigan University as D.Sc. (S.E.). He returned to Iraq in 1926 and was appointed engineer in the Directorate-General of Irrigation, in which he rose to the post of Assistant Director-General in 1941. He acted as Director-General on several occasions.

Appointed Minister of Communications and Works in Haidi Pacha's Cabinet in June 1944. Was Minister of Supply in August 1944, returning at the end of the month to his former Ministry. Resigned with Cabinet in February 1946. Appointed Director-General of Irrigation in May 1946. Speaks English well and is pleasant, intelligent and friendly.

3. Abdul Aziz al-Mudhaffar, M.B.E.

Sunni of Baghdad. Born 1897. Speaks English, German and French well. Served as superintendent in Deputy Military Governor's Office, Bagdad Basrah, under the Government of Occupation from March 1917, and in 1919 became Mudir of Basrah. Secretary to the Ministry of Interior, December 1920, and Director of the Press Bureau in 1922. Director of Census Department 1927.

Appointed Mutessarif of Mosul, May 1931. Withdrawn September 1931 for incompetence and tried for misappropriation of public funds. Found not guilty and appointed to be member of Muntafiq Land Court. Lost this post when the court was abolished in June 1932. In the summer of 1933 was appointed first secretary to the Iraqi Legation at Tehran, and in May 1934 was transferred to be consul-general in Beirut.

Appointed counsellor to the Iraqi Legation in Paris, May 1935.

In the spring of 1937 he was accused of giving false certificates for munitions bought for Spain and recalled to Iraq. In Syria he was arrested, but extradition was refused and he was released, but remained in Syria. He is married to a daughter of Naji al-Suwaidi, and this family connexion brought about his full exoneration in December.

He returned to live in Bagdad in January 1938, and shortly afterwards it was officially announced that it had been proved that he was innocent of the charges made against him in 1937. On his return he went into business.

Early in 1941 started a trans-desert transport service between Bagdad, Syria and Palestine. Was suspected of working for Rashid Ali. After the collapse of Rashid Ali's régime, did his best to clear his name and made lavish use of the "V" sign on his business stationery and press advertisements. As director of Iraqi Manufacturing and Trading Company was interested in the erection of a wax match factory in 1944.

4. Abdul Aziz al-Qasab

Sunni of Bagdad. Kaimakam of Kut under the Naqib's Provisional Government and did very well. In October 1921 he was appointed Mutessarif of Mosul on probation for six months, but refused to go without the salary of a full mutessarif. In the beginning of 1922 he went as Mutessarif of Karkala, was transferred to Muntafiq in January 1923, and to the Ministry of Interior as Director-General of General Administration in June of the same year. Appointed Mutessarif of Mosul in January 1924. A capable and well-intentioned official without much strength of character. Minister of Interior, January 1928. Minister for Justice, November 1929.

Went out of office with the resignation of Naji Pasha's Cabinet in March 1930. Has not held any other Cabinet post since. Has an adequate pension. Appointed Chief Administrative Inspector, Grade I, November 1933.

He was appointed Minister of the Interior in the Cabinet formed by Jamil al-Midfai in March 1935, but resigned with all his colleagues twelve days later. Elected a Deputy for Bagdad in the general elections of August 1935. Appointed Comptroller-General of Accounts in December 1937, in succession to Tawfiq al-Suwaidi.

Deputy for Bagdad March 1947. Member of the Council of Regency summer 1947.

Elected President of the Chamber of Deputies December 1947, he was re-elected President of the new Chamber after the elections of June 1948.

He took some part in the political organization of the disturbances of January 1948 and tendered his resignation from the Chamber, together with a number of other Deputies as a protest against police action in firing on the demonstrators.

The Government of Muzahim Pacha's Cabinet opposed his re-election as President at the ordinary session of the Chamber of Deputies in December 1948 and his opponent was elected.

5. Abdul Fettah bin Ibrahim

Born Bagdad 1906. Educated in Basra and Bagdad he was appointed as a teacher in 1924. He was sent to the American University, Beirut, whence he graduated B.A. in 1932. On returning to Iraq he was given an appointment as translator in the Port Directorate and in 1933 was transferred in the same capacity to the Ministry of Justice. In 1934 he returned to Education as a teacher and served in Bagdad and Nasiriyah. In 1939, on account of his Leftist political views, he was transferred to Amah but succeeded in getting re-transferred to Bagdad in 1940. He taught in various schools in Bagdad until 1943, when he was appointed "Specialist Inspector" in which capacity he was undoubtedly an evil influence. In an endeavour to reduce the growth of communism in the capital he was transferred as Director of Education, Basra Liwa, in 1945. He refused to take up the appointment and resigned on 11th June, 1946. After quitting Government service he became director of the Rabitah Printing and Publishing Company, which prints and publishes most of the Leftist literature. He still holds this post.

Undoubtedly he was infected by communism while in Beirut. After his return, he was reported as openly teaching communism to his students. All efforts to curb him failed, as will be seen by his frequent transfers. During the war he worked hard against "the Nazis" but at the same time worked equally hard with the "underground" campaign against the Government and made preparatory propaganda against the British. He was the founder of Hizb al Ittihad al Watani (Party of National Unity) and the chief instigator of Hizb al Sha'abi al Watani (Popular National Party).

He is sympathetic to communism but his name was not connected in any way with those tried during 1947 for underground Communist activity.

6. Abdul Hadi Chalabi

Shiah. Born in Bagdad in 1895, the son of a wealthy landowner who was several times Minister of Education.

Chalabi was first elected a Deputy for Bagdad in 1934. In March 1935 he was arrested in connexion with the Kadhimain riots and deprived of his political rights until the amnesty of November of that year. He became a Deputy again in 1939. He attended the Atlantic City Economic Conference in August 1945. He is one of the most important corn brokers in the country and has large dealings with Messrs. Andrew Weir & Co., consequently better known in business than in political circles; this is his first Cabinet post. In the past he has supported Nuri al Said and Jamil Midfai. Speaks only Arabic and Persian. He has a wife who appears in public.

Minister of Communications and Works in the al Umari Cabinet of June 1940.

Senator 2nd July, 1947.

He increased his already considerable fortune during the summer of 1947 by the export of large quantities of barley at the inflated prices then obtaining in Italy and Greece. He was able to obtain more than his share of export licences owing to his friendship with Nuri Said and Saleh Jabr. For this he was bitterly attacked in press and party circles and indeed it can be fairly said that his personal greed for profit was a contributory factor to the bread grain crisis of the winter of 1947-48.

7. Abdul Hadi al Pachachi, Dr.

Born in 1894, the son of a former Rais Belediya of Bagdad. He was educated in Bagdad and Istanbul and qualified as a doctor in France. He entered Government service in 1933 as director of the Isolation Hospital and has recently been a lecturer at the Medical College. Together with two Bagdadi Jews he is responsible for the direction of the Sa'adun Clinic and Hospital. Fat and smiling he does not appear a forceful personality and until now has played no part in politics; he is, however, a cousin of Haidi and Muzahim al Pachachi. Is married to a very charming White Russian wife who is well known in British society in Bagdad. He speaks fluent French and a little English.

Became Minister of Social Affairs in the al Umari Cabinet of June 1946. Resigned with the Cabinet in November 1946.

Appointed Mayor of Bagdad by the Sadr Cabinet in April 1948.

Appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Social Affairs in September 1949.

8. Abdul Hadi Dhahir

Shia. About 60. Former Deputy for Hilla. dabbles in law and has had considerable administrative experience. Appointed Director of Tribal Affairs, February 1943, and Mutessarif of Hilla later in the same month. Appointed Judicial Adviser, Ministry of Finance, August 1944. Too rich to have to work, his intellectual vitality is such as to prevent his sitting in idleness, hence his legal activities. His governmental work may be partly ascribed to the same cause. More of a student than man of action, but not afraid to assume responsibility and take decisions. Like Sa'ad Saleh, a bitter opponent of Saleh Jabr. In view of his wealth, unlikely to be corruptible. Minister of Economics in Tawfiq Suwaidi's 1946 Cabinet.

9. Abdul Ilah Hafidh

Born about 1897 in Mosul. Son of the late Muhammad Ali Fadhl, who was for some time a

Senator. Educated in Paris, where he qualified as a dentist. He also studied political economy. He obtained a degree in political science. Became Deputy for Mosul in 1926 and afterwards lost his seat. He then set up a dental clinic in Bagdad. Again elected Deputy in 1933. In 1935 he was appointed Iraqi Consul in Paris, but did not stay there long, and in September 1935 he became Director-General of Commerce. His subsequent posts were Consul-General Beirut, 1938-39; Consul-General Bombay, 1939-40; Director-General of Revenue, 1941. In July 1942 he became Minister of Economics and Minister for Foreign Affairs in October 1942. A fat, genial personality with wider horizons than most Iraqis. Speaks fluent French and fair English.

Appointed Minister of Education in June 1943 and was well spoken of by his British advisers. Resigned with the whole of Nuri Pasha's Cabinet in June 1944.

Joined Arshad al Umari's Cabinet in September 1946 as Minister of Supply, acted as Minister for Foreign Affairs during Dr. Jamali's absence in London.

Deputy for Mosul in 1947 elections.

Minister of Supply in Saleh Jabr's 1947 Cabinet and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs during Dr. Jamali's absence.

Resigned with the Cabinet in January 1948.

Minister for Foreign Affairs in Nuri Pasha's Government of January 1949. Resigned to become Governor of the newly established National Bank in March 1949. Visited England in May 1949 to make final arrangements with the Bank of England for the establishment of the National Bank.

10. Abdul Jabbar al Chalabi

Born Bagdad about 1906. Graduate in Agriculture, University of California and in Education, Columbia Teachers' College. Formerly Director of Elementary Education, February 1943. Promoted Chief Inspector of Education, February 1946. Has had the difficult task of reorganising the Iraqi educational system. Member of the Iraqi delegation to San Francisco Conference, and of the delegation to the United Nations Educational Conference in London, has also represented Iraq at the cultural conferences of the Arab League. Quiet, sober, of a studious turn of mind, his brain is one of the best in Iraq at the moment. Backed by sound administrative experience he is not afraid to take decisions or responsibility. As a result of his fairly extensive travels is a sincere Nationalist and convinced Shia, but is yet the reverse of narrow-minded. Convinced of the need of British aid for Iraq and has many British friends. Dislikes Saleh Jabr and Fadhl al Jamali. His name has never been linked with any suggestion of corruption. His English is perfect.

As Minister of Supply in the Suwaidi Cabinet of 1946 he was an outstanding success. In September 1946 was appointed Director-General of Communications and Works.

11. Abdul Latif Nuri

Born in Bagdad 1888. Gazetted as officer in the Turkish army in 1908. Joined the Iraqi army in 1921. Promoted *amir* (lieutenant-colonel) in 1926 and *zaim* (colonel) in 1929. He has held the command of the Northern and Southern Districts, and has passed the senior and junior officers courses, and was posted to the Northern District in 1933. Promoted *amir liwa* (brigadier) in 1932.

Joined General Bakr Sidqi as leader of the army revolt against Yasin al-Hashimi in October 1936, and became Minister of Defence in the Government formed by Hikmat Sulaiman.

Resigned after the murder of Bakr Sidqi in August 1937 and was then placed on retired pay.

Left Iraq in the same year for medical treatment and lived abroad. While in hospital in Damascus he was placed under arrest by the British military authorities when Syria was occupied in June 1941, but was allowed to return to Iraq in September 1941, since when he has been living quietly in Bagdad on his pension.

12. Abdul Mahdi (Saiyid)

Shiah of Shula (Muntaliq). Born about 1894. Belongs to an influential family and owns a large estate (Abu Hawan Maqatah). Deputy for Kerbala in Turkish Parliament, and in Iraqi Chamber in 1927. Minister for Education under Rashid Ali-al-Gilani, March-October 1933. Lost his seat in the Chamber in the election of 1934.

He was a strong partisan of Yasin Pasha and a member of the Executive Committee of the party of National Brotherhood (Hizb al-Ikha-al-Watani).

After the dissolution of the party in 1935 he played no part in politics until he was again elected to the Chamber in December 1937.

He was again returned for this constituency in June 1939.

In February 1941 became Minister of Economics in the Cabinet of Tahir al Hashimi. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet when Rashid Ali seized power in April. Appointed Minister of Economics in the Cabinet formed by Nuri as Said in October 1941.

Made Senator October 1941.

Appointed Minister of Communications and Works in February 1942. Resigned in November 1942 as a result of a personal quarrel with Tahir Ali, the Minister of Education. He was politically active and verbose in the summer of 1945, protesting against French policy in the Levant and in favour of treaty revision.

A violent Shia and Nationalist and a staunch supporter of Salah Jadr. He remained loyal to the latter when many of his friends deserted him during the agitation against the Portsmouth Treaty. During the Palestine crisis of the summer of 1948 he was a focus of intransigence in the Senate.

Refused an invitation to join the Muzahim Cabinet in October 1948. Visited Syria in November 1949 to try to influence the elections in favour of Iraqi-Syrian Union.

13. Abdul Majid Alawi, C.B.E.

Born 1898 of a large Shia family of Bagdad. Graduated in law at Bagdad and for some time practised as a lawyer. Elected a Deputy in 1929 but was not returned in 1930. Is a founder member of the Iraqi Bar Association. In 1932 was appointed Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs but was sent at once as vice-consul to Khorramshahr. Transferred to Tehran 1933 and to Tabriz in 1934, where he remained for four years and where he co-operated closely with His Majesty's Consul. Became Director of Oriental Affairs in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1938 and Acting Director-General and Director of Political Affairs in 1941. He was much upset when Dr. Fadhi Jamali was made Director-General in 1944, leaving him merely as Director of the Political Department of the Ministry. On the 21st December, 1944, he joined the Cabinet of Hamdi al Paqluchi as Minister of Social Affairs. He talks English well, is rather pedantically, and has always been consistently pro-British. He has recently married a second wife who appears in public, which is surprising for a Shia.

Created C.B.E. for war services, 1948.

After February 1948 he held no post in the public service until his appointment as Mutassarif of Kerbala in the spring of 1948.

Appointed an Administrative Inspector in the autumn of 1948.

14. Abdul Qadir-al-Gilani

Elder brother of Yusuf Gilani. Born Bagdad 1904. Entered Government service 1926, and shortly afterwards was appointed attaché in the Iraqi Legation in London. While in London he studied at the London School of Economics. Speaks good English.

Appointed third secretary at Iraqi Legation in Cairo 1934. Promoted second secretary 1938. On many occasions he was in charge of the legation and maintained excellent relations with the British Embassy. In Egypt he married an Egyptian girl of good family and was popular in Egyptian society. Appointed Master of Ceremonies at the Royal Palace, April 1940, where he appeared likely to exercise a good influence.

These hopes were, however, disappointed, and he associated himself closely with his cousin Rashid Ali when the latter became Prime Minister in March 1941, and during the rebellion led by Rashid Ali in May 1941. When it collapsed he took refuge in Persia. After the Allied occupation of Persia he was arrested by the British forces, and after some months' internment in Ahwaz he was sent to Southern Rhodesia. Was sent back to Iraq with the other Iraqi internees for trial in April 1944. Tried in August 1944, he was found guilty of having, in May 1941, insulted the Queen Mother on the telephone. Although he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, the Regent intervened and he was detained in the Police School, Bagdad, and later transferred to Amara. Released in October 1944. Has been described as arrogant and selfish, he certainly gives the impression of being a *faux bon-homme*.

During 1946 and 1947 he and his wife made determined and unsuccessful efforts to re-enter Bagdad social life. He was reappointed to the Iraqi Foreign Service in June 1948 and sent to Karachi to establish Iraqi representation there.

15. Abdul Qadir-al-Rashid

Sunni of Bagdad, related to the Gilani family. Born 1894. Speaks English well.

Appointed secretary to the Council of Ministers in 1924 in succession to Hussein Afshar. Remained in that post, the duties of which he discharged with noteworthy tact and efficiency, until November 1932, when he was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in Naji Shaukat's Cabinet. Resigned with Cabinet in March 1933. Was appointed an assistant manager in the Rafidin Oil Company in October 1933 and is now well received in British business circles.

His Turkish wife is one of the most accomplished women in Bagdad and one of the chief hostesses of the capital.

He was awarded the King's Medal for service in the cause of freedom in 1946.

16. Abdul Razzaq Hussein

Born in Bagdad 1893. Sunni Moslem of a poor family. Educated in Bagdad and received his military training in Istanbul. Appointed as officer in Machine Gun Corps of Turkish army in 1912. Was captured by the British in 1915(?) and imprisoned in Cairo Citadel where he learned to speak English and, as he says, to appreciate the English. Took no part in Arab revolt. Joined Iraq army on the 15th February, 1924.

Is very pro-British. On the 17th May, 1948, he, along with eleven other Iraqi officers, went on a tour of the battle areas of the Western Desert on the invitation of the Commander-in-chief, Middle East. As a brigadier he was Director-General of Defence Affairs, and in November 1944 he was promoted Amir Liwa, which rank he now holds as Officer Commanding 3rd Division of the reorganised Iraq army.

Led the Iraqi contingent in the London Victory Parade in June 1946. Is jovial and fond of gay parties.

17. Abdul Razzaq al Uzri

Born about 1890. Shi'ah. A Bagdad lawyer. Deputy 1931-32. Public Prosecutor in 1932. Subsequently held post of Mutassarif of Kerbala and Diyala. Appointed Minister of Social Affairs by Nuri Said in November 1942. Ineffective and lacking in personality, he became a Minister only because no other eligible Shi'ah could be found.

Lost his portfolio when Nuri Pasha reformed his Cabinet in December 1943. Appointed Mutassarif of Hillah in August 1944 as a result of Saleh Jadr's intrigues. Mutassarif of Bagdad March 1945.

Director-General of Tapu, October 1946.

Transferred from Director-General, Tapu, to Mutassarif, Bagdad, in March 1948.

18. Abdul Wahab Mahmud

Sunni. Born Basra 1903. Brother of the late Muhammad Zaki Mahmud, a former Minister of Justice, who was at one time President of the Chamber of Deputies. Brother-in-law of Ismail Nuriq. Educated Basra and Bagdad, where he graduated in law in 1932. Reported during the thirties to hold decided Communist views and to have distributed Communist propaganda; his house was raided in 1934, but it was believed that his brother's influential position saved him from arrest. Engaged in anti-Madfa'i Government propaganda in 1938; toured the Diwaniya tribes in an attempt to unite them against the Government. Arrested December 1938 on the orders of Jamil Madfa'i and despatched to *residence forcée* in North Iraq. Released shortly afterwards when Nuri became Prime Minister. Deputy since 1939 and *rappporteur* of the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Deputies during 1945. Minister of Finance in the 1946 Suweidi Cabinet.

19. Abdul al Wahhab Murjan

Born about 1910 of a Shi'ah land-owning family of Hillah. Educated at the Bagdad Law College, he was appointed a judge at Suwayra about 1935 and resigned after a short period because his judgments were very frequently upset by the appeal courts.

He was a leader of the National Democratic Party in Hillah in 1946 and 1947 but left the party owing to his exclusion from the Higher Committee and to his being taken up by Saleh Jadr who secured his election to Parliament in the elections of March 1947. Saleh Jadr is said to have considered appointing him to the Cabinet but to have rejected the idea on the grounds of his youth.

He was again elected Deputy for Hillah in the 1948 elections and was appointed Minister of Economics in the Paqluchi Government of June 1948. He speaks no English.

Resigned to become President of the Chamber of Deputies in December 1948. Accompanied the Regent on his visit to the Shah of Persia in June 1949.

20. Abdul Wahid, Shaikh

Chief of the Ftlah tribe, son of Haji Sikkar, once the most powerful sheikh on the Euphrates. Abdul Wahid cultivates extensive properties on the left bank of the Mishkal from Abu Sukhair to the Ibrahim. Throughout recent years he has steered his course with a view to maintain to the utmost his political and tribal influence. His support and loyalty were carefully cultivated by King Faisal, and all political parties have thought it worth while to try to make him an adherent. He has many friends and many bitter enemies, and is reputed to deal harshly with his followers.

He was prominent as a leader of discontent in the Middle Euphrates area in the spring of 1935, working with Rashid Ali-al-Gilani to overthrow Ali Jaudat's Cabinet.

He had much influence during Yasin-al-Hashimi's tenure of office, but so abused it that after Yasin's fall in October 1936 he was afraid to return to his tribe.

He was elected to the Chamber in February 1937, but in July 1937 he was arrested and imprisoned for fomenting tribal disturbances in Diwaniyah. After the fall of Hikmat Sulaiman's Government in August 1937 he was released from prison, but kept under surveillance first in Sulaiman and later in Samawa.

He was permitted to return to his home in July 1938 and elected Deputy for Diwaniyah in June 1939.

In April and May 1941 he closely supported Rashid Ali. In August he was interned in I'ao and in December transferred to Samarra. He continued, nevertheless, to keep touch with his friends and supporters, among whom Hassan Suhail, of the Beni Tammim, was prominent.

Transferred to the internment camp at Amara in the summer of 1942. He was released in 1944 and lived in *residence forcée* in Mosul till April 1945, when he was allowed to reside in Samarra. The compulsory economy of his exile leaves him the richest tribal leader in the Euphrates. His influence is still probably greater than that of any other chief of the Ftlah tribe, although he is growing old and is disliked by most of the members of his family.

21. Abdullah-al-Damduji

Formerly called Abdullah Said Effendi. Born 1895. A native of Mosul. Studied medicine in Constantinople and calls himself doctor, though it is believed that he did not graduate. Seems to have been serving in the Turkish army when Ibn Saud occupied Hassa in 1913, and to have transferred his allegiance to Ibn Saud. Soon rose to a position of influence in Ibn Saud's Court, and came to Bagdad as his unofficial representative in 1921. Was Ibn Saud's Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1922 and signed the Uqair Protocol. Went with the Amir Faisal-al-Saud to London in 1926, and took part in the negotiations leading to the conclusion of the Treaty of Jeddah in 1927. After this his influence waned owing to the intrigues of Fudh Hamza and Yusuf Yasin.

In August 1928 he represented the Court of Nejd, the Hejaz and its dependencies at the Medina Railway Conference at Haifa. The conference was a failure, and when it ended, instead of returning to the Hejaz, Abdullah Damduji came to Bagdad, posing his resignation to Ibn Saud. Arrived Bagdad, September 1928. Appointed Iraqi Consul-General, Cairo, in 1930, recalled October 1930, and appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. This at first was resented by Ibn Saud, and for a short time Damduji's presence at the head of the Iraqi Ministry for Foreign Affairs seemed likely to embarrass Nejd and Iraqi relations, but when Nuri Pasha visited Jeddah in April 1931 Ibn Saud stated that he no longer wished to raise any objection to Damduji's appointment. Was left out of office when Nuri Pasha reformed his Cabinet in October 1931. Appointed Director-General of Health, July 1932, and succeeded Safwat Pasha as Court Chamberlain at the end of 1933.

Returned to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Jamil-al-Madfa'i's second Cabinet in February 1934; resigned in July and was reappointed Director-General of Health in September.

He was suspended in 1935 and tried for misappropriation of public funds. He was acquitted and

reinstated in his post at the end of December, but resigned a few months later.

For nearly two years he remained out of public life, but in July 1937 he was appointed Master of Ceremonies at the Palace in succession to Abbas Mahdi.

He headed the Iraqi representatives at the funeral of Ataturk in November 1938. Soon after Nuri al-Said became Prime Minister in December 1938 he was removed from the Palace to an obscure appointment in the Health Department, which was later abolished.

Appointed Director-General of Social Affairs and Health in November 1941.

Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in February 1942.

Resigned in June 1942.

From then until 1947 he left politics and devoted himself to business. In the autumn of 1947 he was appointed a member of the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations Organisation meeting which made the decision to partition Palestine. Elected Deputy for Mosul and was widely talked of as a possible Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Cabinet of Muzahim Pachaichi formed in June 1948. In the event Muzahim took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs himself. Speaks good English.

22. Abdullah Qassab

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1900, the son of an Alim Shaikh, Abbas Amin-al-Fatwa. Nephew of Abdul Aziz Qassab, *q.v.* Educated in Bagdad, graduated from the Law College in 1928 and entered the Civil Service. Became Kaimakam of Samarra in 1936 and later became Director of Tribal Affairs in the Ministry of the Interior.

Appointed Mutesarrif of Kerbala in October 1941 and was transferred to Diwaniyah a month later. Did well as a Mutesarrif and joined Nuri Said's Cabinet as Minister of Interior in October 1943. Quiet and efficient with no marked political leanings. Resigned with the whole Cabinet in December 1943 and was dropped from Nuri's immediately following Cabinet. Appointed Mutesarrif of Mosul in March 1944.

A strong and capable administrator. He initiated and worked hard at the Conference (Der ez Zor, June 1944, Bagdad, May 1945) to settle Shammar-Agaidat disputes.

In June 1946 joined Arshad al Umari's Cabinet as Minister of the Interior, but resigned in August owing to a difference with the Premier. He has since been appointed Director-General of the Date Monopoly. Awarded King's Medal for service in the cause of freedom 1946.

23. Ahmad, Shaikh of Barzan

A chieftain of the Kurdish Barzan tribe. Headquarters at Barzan at the foot of the Chin-i-Shirin. Exercised powerful influence over the Barosh and Mazuri Bala areas to the north-west of Rowanduz. Friendly relations were established with him in 1919, but no administrative control was exercised in his tribal area. In 1920 he was implicated in the murder of two British officials. He and Faria Agha of Born Kapra were declared outlaws with a price on their heads, and Barzan was destroyed by troops, but his country was not occupied. In 1922 he welcomed Turkish agents into Barosh and Mazuri Bala, and in September 1922 his men made an unsuccessful attack on Amadiyah. A month later Barzan was again destroyed by the Royal Air Force co-operating with Assyrian irregulars. In 1923, the Turks having been driven from Rowanduz, Sheikh Ahmad turned on their retreating columns and came into Agra to make peace with the Anglo-Iraqi authorities. His outlawry was cancelled and he was permitted to

continue in un molested control of his tribal villages and mountains. In the summer of 1931 he began a private war with a neighbouring chieftain of Baradost, Sheikh Rashid of Lolan. He was everywhere successful, drove Sheikh Rashid to flight into Persia and set fire to his villages. Government intervention became necessary to restore order. Iraqi troops were concentrated early in 1932, and after some sharp fighting, followed by intensive air action by the Royal Air Force, Sheikh Ahmad was defeated and driven across the Turkish border in June. He and his two brothers, Muhammad Sadiq and Mulla Mustafa, were interned for a time in Turkey, but the two latter contrived to find their way back into their old haunts in the following winter. After holding out in the mountains for some months they surrendered and were pardoned in July 1933 and allowed to return to their villages. A short time afterwards the Turks surrendered Sheikh Ahmad to the Iraqi Government on condition that his life should be spared. For a little over a year he lived in comfortable and honourable detention in Mosul, but in November 1934 it was found that he was in collusion with Khalil Khushawi, who was disturbing the peace of the Barzan area, and he was thereupon removed to Hillah.

Permitted to come to Bagdad in April 1935. A short while later he went to live in Sulaimani. After the escape of Mulla Mustafa from Sulaimani in the autumn of 1943 Sheikh Ahmad was removed to Hillah and remained there until a settlement was made with Mulla Mustafa in January 1944. Thereafter he was permitted to return to Barzan. He is now heavily overshadowed by Mulla Mustafa in local tribal affairs. His own home-made religion, which is tolerant to Christianity and which brought him into conflict before with Sheikh Rashid of Lolan, led him to arrange for the liquidation of various Mullahs in 1944-45. There is evidence that he is mentally unbalanced and his "dervish" influence is so strong that Mulla Mustafa dare not directly oppose him and resorts to flattery and cunning to get his way. Throughout 1945 he was opposed to the moderate course pursued by Mulla Mustafa and expressed his disapproval by announcing his intention of retiring into the background; but his feud with the Reikan tribes has never died and in July 1945 he came forward again and ordered his tribe to overthrow the local Government. Disorder has spread and the Barzanis, with Mulla Mustafa, are committed to wholesale resistance to the Government's intention to crush them, for the fourth time in 25 years.

Despite warnings, disorders started and a campaign was necessary to crush the Barzanis. Aided by lavish bribery, which the Minister of the Interior administered, the Iraqi army operations were brother fled to Persia. At first they were well eventually successful. Shaikh Ahmad and his received and courted by the Russians, but in September 1946 it was reported that Ahmad was seeking to return to Iraq as a suppliant.

He returned to Iraq in February 1947 and surrendered with a number of followers, including the Kurdish officers Ezzat Aziz and Mustafa Khoshnav. He is now in prison at Basra under sentence of death.

24. Ahmad Mukhtar Baban

Born about 1895. Sunni of the Baban family which is Kurdish in origin. He, himself, knows no Kurdish and has no racial interest in the Kurds. A lawyer by profession, he served as a judge for many years. For a short time in 1942 he held the war-time post of Director-General of Supplies and in October 1942 he joined Nuri Said's Cabinet as Minister of Social Affairs. A fortnight later he was transferred to Communications and Works, where he remained

until the Cabinet was re-formed in December 1943, when he was appointed to the Ministry of Justice. He kept the same Ministry in Hamdi Pachaichi's Cabinet of June 1944. Has held acting portfolios of Finance and Foreign Affairs in the absence of the respective Ministers. Not a brilliant man, he steers clear of political intrigue.

Minister of Social Affairs February 1946; resigned April 1946. In the autumn of 1946 he was appointed head of the Royal Diwan.

25. Ahmad al Rawi, K.B.E.

Born about 1896. Sunni of Bagdad. Son of one of the leading Sunni Alims. Became a police officer soon after the formation of the Iraqi Government and after reaching the rank of commandant served in several livas as a mutessarif. In February 1939 he was made administrative inspector and not long afterwards placed on pension. In June 1941, after the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebel Government, he was recalled to duty by Jamil Madfal and made Director-General of Police. In this position he co-operated energetically with the British officials in eradicating pro-Nazi propaganda and intrigues and also gave his personal and official support to all plans for improving Anglo-Iraqi relations.

In 1943 Amir Abdullah of Transjordan created him a Pasha. Appointed Minister to Syria and the Lebanon in June 1941. The unprecedented number of farewell parties to Ahmad Pasha reflected the popular esteem in which he is held. A good sportsman, with a keen sense of humour, he is intelligent and though not sufficiently forceful to administer with successful results, he may have found his *niche* in this new appointment.

In August 1946 he was also appointed as first minister to the King of Transjordan, but returned to Bagdad during September to take up the post of Director-General of Foreign Affairs. He has twice been asked, by Hamdi Pachaichi at the end of 1945 and by Arshad al Umari in September 1946, to join the Cabinet, but prefers not to do so until he can join one which has some chance of durability. Is a brother of Najib al Rawi (*q.v.*). Created K.B.E. for war services, 1946.

He represented Iraq at many of the meetings of the Arab League Political Committee occasioned by the Palestine crisis of the summer of 1948.

Member of the Iraqi delegation to the session of U.N.O. in September 1949.

26. Ahmad-i-Tanbiq

A Kurdish notable of Suleimani, born 1898, who has had the advantage of a better education than most of his contemporaries. He has held a number of administrative appointments since the first days of the occupation of the Suleimani Liva. Was appointed mutessarif after the reoccupation of Suleimani in 1924. The Iraqi Government have several times endeavoured to replace him by others less sympathetic to Kurdish aspirations, but those chosen have not been successful. Ahmad Beg has now (1933) been mutessarif without interruption since 1930. He is connected by marriage with the ruling families of the Pizhder tribe, and owns property in the Sordash nahiyah. A pleasant and presentable man, who has always been popular with British civil and military officers.

Transferred as mutessarif to Arbil in April 1935. Made an administrative inspector April 1939. Placed on pension in spring of 1940.

27. Ahmad Zaki-al-Khaiyat

Shi'ah Baghdad. Born 1896. Educated Bagdad Law School. Has held the following posts: Secretary of the Ministry of Education, consul-general at

Mukhammarah and Bombay, Kaimakam in several places. Mutesarrif of Kut and Hillah and Land Settlement Officer. Appointed Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs in July 1937. Was instrumental in placing important telephone contract with British firm against keen foreign competition.

Dismissed from his post in June 1941 on account of the support which he had given to Rashid Ali's régime in May.

Appointed Director-General of Press and Propaganda in August 1944, in which position he co-operated well with the British.

Appointed Iraqi Consul in Jerusalem, May 1945. Appointed consul at Jeddah 1946, but resigned the service rather than proceed and took up practice as a lawyer. A feeble individual. Speaks quite good English.

Deputy March 1947. Has an interest in the company which has the Rootes agency in Iraq.

28. Akram Mushtaq

Born Bagdad 1903. Moslem Sunni. Brother of Talib Mushtaq (*q.v.*). Gazetted officer in army 1927. Passed through Cranwell and appointed to Royal Iraqi air force in 1930. Promoted captain 1932. Took an active part in the *coup d'Etat* of October 1936. Promoted major 1937 and lieutenant-colonel in 1938. Appointed Commander of Iraqi air force in September 1937. Retained this post until April 1939, when he was relieved of his command and commission and appointed Director of Civil Aviation. Married a daughter of Sheikh Ahmad-al-Sheikh Daud in spring of 1940. Member of Iraqi delegation to International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago in November 1944, and to meetings of the Communications Committee of the Arab League in summer, 1946.

Has a thorough knowledge of the intricacies of civil aviation and is an intelligent and likeable person. Speaks excellent English.

His health is bad and he took an overdose of sleeping tablets in November 1949.

29. Ali Haidar Sulaiman

Ali Haidar Sulaiman was born at Rowanduz in 1905 of a well-known Kurdish family, he was educated at Mosul and the American University, Beirut. He represented his university at the 1929 meeting of the International Students' Union in Geneva. On his return to Bagdad he was appointed a lecturer in the Higher Teachers' Training College where he taught modern history. In 1933 he was transferred to the Ministry of the Interior where he remained until 1937 when he was transferred to the Iraqi Foreign Service. He served as a secretary in the Iraqi Legations at Rome and Cairo between 1937 and 1939.

He does not appear to have taken an active part in the Rashid Ali movement, but as a brother-in-law of Yunis Sab'awi he was duly interned. His political sympathies appear to be rather Left than Right and he is friendly with Abdul Fattah Ibrahim (*q.v.*) and Nadhim Zahawi.

After his release from internment he was in business partnership with Ali Kemal in the New Bagdad Project.

Appointed Minister of Social Affairs in the Muzahim Pachaichi Government in August 1948.

Resigned with the Government in January 1949.

30. Ali Jaudat

Sunni, of humble Mosul origin. Born 1886. Officer in the Turkish army, fought at Shuabihah; subsequently surrendered to the British and spent most of 1915 at Basra. Was there employed to encourage Turkish officer prisoners to join the Sheriff. He was a member of the Ahd-al-Iraqi. After the war he was Military Governor of Aleppo

after the resignation of Jafar Pasha early in 1920, and was subsequently in Dair. Returned to Bagdad with the Amir Faisal in June 1921, and in October 1921 was given the post of Mutesarrif of Hillah, which he held till September 1922. He took a very active part in the anti-mandate agitation, and was finally dismissed (on the advice of the High Commissioner) for defrauding the Treasury by under-estimating revenue demands on supporters of his political views. In January 1923 he was appointed Mutesarrif of Karbala in the hope that he might be able to reconcile the *mujtahids*. He was unsuccessful, and in May was transferred to Muntafiq where he did very well. Minister of Interior in the Askari Cabinet, November 1923-July 1924, and voted for the treaty. Appointed Mutesarrif of Diyala, and later of Basra. In early 1930 was made Director of the Ministry of the Interior. Minister for Finance under Nuri Pasha, March 1930. Resigned from Nuri Pasha's Cabinet in September 1930, as a protest against the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of that year, and his seat in the Chamber in 1931, together with Rashid Ali-al-Gilani and Yasin-al-Hashimi in March 1932. Re-elected for Mosul 1933. Appointed principal private secretary to the King, March 1933. Became Prime Minister and Acting Minister of the Interior in August 1934. Was forced to resign in February 1935 on account of the agitation worked up against him throughout the country by Yasin-al-Hashimi and Rashid Ali-al-Gilani. He was made President of the Chamber in March 1935 and appointed Iraqi Minister in London in August 1935. Transferred to Paris in December 1936.

He came to Bagdad on leave in October 1937 and decided not to return to his post at Paris.

Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in Nuri-al-Said's Cabinet in April 1939. Resigned with whole Cabinet in February 1940.

After Rashid Ali's *coup d'Etat* in April 1941 he escaped to Basra, joined the Regent and accompanied His Highness to Jerusalem. He returned to Iraq after the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebellion and was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Cabinet formed by Jamil Madfai in June 1941.

Resigned with the whole Cabinet in October 1941.

Has a son, Nizar, who was educated at Downing College, Cambridge.

Appointed Iraqi Minister at Washington in March 1942.

Has interested himself in conducting propaganda in the United States to make better known the Arab side of the Palestine question.

He returned to Iraq in the spring of 1948 after a serious illness and he will not return to his post.

He speaks some English.

Joined Mizalim Pacha's Government as Minister for Foreign Affairs in the reshuffle of September 1948. Resigned with the Cabinet in January 1949. Was invited to form a Government during the Cabinet crisis of November 1949, but failed twice largely owing to the Regent's insistence on the selection of Shakir al Wadi. A third attempt succeeded in December.

31. Ali Khalid al Bejazi (Saliyd)

Sunni. Born about 1890 in Damascus of Hajzi parentage. Lieutenant in Ottoman Turkish Army 1919. Officer in Kurdish gendarmerie. Awarded B.E.M. and M.C. during campaigns in Kurdistan. Inspector of Police 1921. Assistant Commandant of Police 1923. Commandant of Police in the Mobile Force 1925. Commandant of Police, Sulaimaniya, 1937. Commandant of Police, Bagdad, from after the Rashid Ali rebellion in 1941 to 1946. Did good work to stop looting after May 1941. Created C.B.E. for war services 1946. Mutesarrif Sulaimaniya 1947-48. Director-General of Police from May 1948.

Probably more a soldier than a policeman. More interested in the mobile force than in normal police work. Tough, shrewd but stupid, poor at administration. Favourable to the British connexion. Hates the Iraqi Army, but is loyal to the Regent.

32. Ali Mahmud Shaikh Ali

Born 1902. Sunni Arab connected with the Ubaid tribe. Graduated at the Bagdad Law School in 1923 and practised as a lawyer for about thirteen years. He also learnt to speak English and French. He became well known as an extreme Nationalist and contributed many articles to the newspaper the *Istiqlal* attacking British policy in Iraq. He was arrested in 1924 on account of his agitation against the first Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, but was acquitted on trial. He was brought before the courts again in 1930 for a similarly violent agitation against the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of Alliance signed in that year and sentenced to a short term of imprisonment. He has twice been elected to the Chamber of Deputies. He was one of the members of the delegation of Iraqi notables which visited Palestine and Egypt in 1936, and a short time after his return he was appointed (through the personal influence of Yasin-al-Hashimi, the Prime Minister) to a judgeship in the Court of Appeal. In this post he has shown more talent and good sense than was to be expected from his past career. Appointed Minister of Justice in Hikmat Sulaiman's reorganised Cabinet in June 1937. Resigned August 1937 and returned to the Bar.

Banished from Bagdad by Jamil-al-Madfai's Cabinet in November 1938, but was permitted to return when Nuri-al-Said formed a Cabinet in December 1938. In February 1939 he was appointed Mutesarrif of Basra, where he soon began to make trouble for the Sheikh of Kuwait. After holding this appointment for about a year he was transferred to Bagdad to be Director-General of Customs and Excise. As a mutesarrif he allowed his political prejudices to colour too deeply his administrative activities.

Appointed Minister of Justice in the unconstitutional Cabinet formed by Rashid Ali in April 1941. Fled to Persia with the rest of the Cabinet after the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebellion in May 1941. Handed over to the British military authorities by the Persian Government after the entry of British forces into Persia in September 1941. Imprisoned in Ahwaz and thence sent to Southern Rhodesia for internment. Sent back to Iraq and handed over to the Iraqi court for trial in March 1942 and was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the following May.

33. Ali Mumtaz

Born 1901. Sunni of Bagdad. Belongs to the Daftari family. Graduated at Bagdad Law College and entered Government service in 1920. Married a daughter of Yasin-al-Hashimi in 1933. Appointed Director-General of Revenues in 1935, but was obliged to leave Iraq for a time when Bakr Sidqi overthrew Yasin-al-Hashimi's Government in 1936. In January 1939 he was reappointed Director-General of Revenues by Nuri-al-Said's Cabinet.

Appointed Minister of Finance in the Cabinet formed by Taha al Hashimi in February 1941. Resigned with the whole Cabinet in April after Rashid Ali's *coup d'Etat*. In May 1941 he was appointed director of the newly-created Rafidain Bank, and in October he became Minister of Finance in the Cabinet formed by Nuri-al-Said.

Resigned in October 1942 largely on account of his inability to get on with Saleh Jabr, then Minister of the Interior.

Made Minister of Finance in Nuri Pasha's ninth Cabinet in December 1943. Headed Iraqi delegation

to Middle East Financial Conference in April 1944. Resigned with the whole of Nuri Pasha's Cabinet in June 1944.

Minister of Communications and Works in the Suweidi Cabinet of 1946. When this resigned he was partly responsible for the calculated leakage to the press of a Cabinet memorandum advocating drastic revision of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. He is efficient but has not shown himself very straightforward.

A member of the Liberal Party formed in 1945 which withdrew at the last moment from the 1947 elections alleging undue interference by the Regent and the Government of Nuri Pasha.

Speaks good English.

He resigned from the Liberal Party after a disagreement with Sa'ad Saleh on election tactics in the spring of 1948. Minister of Finance in Mizalim Pacha's Cabinet 1948.

Resigned in November 1948, ostensibly and perhaps genuinely because he could obtain no support for his proposals for solving the financial difficulties of the Iraqi Government.

34. Ali Shukur

President of the Railway Labour Union (now illegal). An ex-engine driver of radical outlook who was dismissed from the Iraqi State Railways at the end of 1944. Became President of the Union in November 1944 and was active in promoting the Railway labour strike, which lasted from the 15th April to the 1st May, 1945, and was the biggest labour movement which has been seen in Iraq since the formation of the Trade Unions. He appeared willing to stop the strike after a few days and to discuss terms with the Minister of Social Affairs, but the majority was in favour of continuing. Was arrested during the strike when the Union was closed and made illegal.

The Union has not yet been allowed to function again, despite the strenuous efforts of Shukur, who has been sending petitions to all the Ministers concerned with great regularity.

35. Alwan bin Hussein, C.B.E.

Sunni, Arab, born Bagdad 1899, of good middle-class family. Married, 1923, daughter of Numaq Beg, a relation of Sherif Pasha. He was educated at the English Protestant School, Bagdad, and would have gone to the United Kingdom but for the outbreak of the First Great War. On the formation of a Civil Police Force after the occupation of Bagdad in March 1917 he was amongst the first Iraqis to be enrolled, having been appointed Station Clerk Sub-Inspector on 11th May, 1917. Here, working with experienced police officers he learned rapidly and when Mosul was occupied in November 1918 he volunteered and accompanied the police party as inspector. He did outstandingly good work, both before, during and after the rising of 1920. He was one of the first three Iraqis to be promoted to gazetted rank in 1920 when he became Assistant Commissioner of Police, Mosul Town. He remained in Mosul until 1924 when he was promoted Commandant of Police and posted as C.P., Central Criminal Investigation Department. In 1930 he went to the United Kingdom. He was attached to the Birmingham City Police and later attended the "Senior Officers' Course" at New Scotland Yard. Returning to Bagdad he gradually took over the C.I.D. and its allied departments from the British D.I.G. Police and by the time Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations had assumed complete charge. However, he did not find favour with the late Yasin Pasha al Hashimi and Rashid Ali al Gailani, and it was not long before he was removed. When Nuri Pasha came in in 1939 he immediately

put Alwan back into the C.I.D. and there he remained until the "Golden Square" and Rashid Ali gained control when he was pushed out again, first to Diwaniyah and then to Kirkuk at both of which places he was under the open constant surveillance of the Iraqi army. After the collapse of the rebellion he was brought again to Bagdad headquarters and became Assistant Director-General, Political and Criminal Investigation Branch. For "Security" and other reasons he retained control of the C.I.D. itself as *ex officio* Director. He remained as A.D.G.P. until his promotion to Director-General on 28th September, 1946.

Created C.B.E. for war services, 1946.

He was subjected to strong attacks by the political parties and the newspapers for the alleged undue severity of police action against the demonstrators against the Portsmouth Treaty. He lost his nerve under these attacks and suffered a minor nervous breakdown. He was transferred to the post of commandant of the Police Training School in April 1948.

36. Amin Zaki Sulaiman

A Moslem (Sunni) of Turkoman origin. Born 1887 in Bagdad. Received his military training in Istanbul and appointed second lieutenant in the Turkish army in 1905.

He joined the Iraqi army in 1921 as a captain, and was promoted major in 1926 and lieutenant-colonel in 1930, when he was placed in command of the 4th Iraqi Infantry Battalion.

He was promoted colonel in 1934 and appointed to the command of the Northern Division with headquarters at Mosul, and a month later he was appointed quarter-master-general. In October 1935 he was given the command of the Euphrates Division, Diwaniyah. Promoted brigadier in June 1936.

He was much opposed to the Belk Sidqi régime in 1936. He remained with the Euphrates Division until August 1937, when he was appointed G.O.C., the 2nd Division, Kirkuk, which position he was still holding when he was appointed acting C.G.S. in March 1940. Promoted major-general in June 1940.

In 1940 he was 53 years old and was the senior officer serving in the Iraqi army. A staunch supporter of Taha-al-Hashimi, he was considered a capable officer and a strict disciplinarian, but was generally unpopular in the army with both officers and men.

Under pressure from Salah-ud-Din Sabbagh, he threw in his lot with Rashid Ali in April 1941 and signed a proclamation charging the Regent with treason against the State. He fled to Persia when British troops advanced on Bagdad at the end of May and fell into our hands when British and Russian troops occupied Persia in August 1941. After provisional internment in Ahwaz, he was sent to Southern Rhodesia. Sent back to Iraq for retrial in March 1942, and in May was sentenced by a military court to five years' imprisonment.

37. Arshad-al-Umari, K.B.E.

Of the well-known Utunri family of Mosul. Born 1885. Trained as an engineer in the days of the Turk. Municipal engineer in Constantinople. Staff officer during the war. Speaks French and understands some English. Member of the first Iraqi Parliament and supporter of Abdul Muhsin Beg. Appointed by latter first Iraqi Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs. Made Amin-al-Asimih (Mayor of Bagdad), November 1931, and during his two-year tenure of that appointment did much for the improvement of the amenities of Bagdad. Was appointed Director of Irrigation in November 1933. Joined Ali Jaudat's Cabinet in August 1934 as Minister for Economics and Communications. Resigned with the Cabinet in February 1935 and

remained without a post until May 1936, when he was appointed Director-General of Municipalities. In November 1936 he again became Mayor of Baghdad, in which capacity he is well known and liked by most of the foreign community. He has proved himself a good friend to Great Britain.

Following the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebellion in May 1941, when Rashid Ali and his Cabinet fled to Persia, Arshad Beg formed a Committee of Internal Security to conclude an armistice with the British forces and to maintain order until the return of the Regent.

In November 1941 he was reappointed Lord Mayor of Baghdad. Has done much to embellish Baghdad by opening up new roads and laying out public gardens.

As president of the Iraqi Red Crescent Society he has shown himself very willing to co-operate with the organisers of all kinds of war charity work.

In June 1944 he joined Hamdi al-Pachachi's Cabinet as Minister for Foreign Affairs and acting Minister of Supplies. Rushing at supply problems, he soon met difficulties and had to relinquish his portfolio in August 1944. He headed the Iraqi delegation to the Arab Unity Congress in Cairo, signed the Protocol and returned to Iraq in October 1944. As leader of the Iraqi delegation to San Francisco, he failed to substitute the ideal of independence for that of trusteeship (with Palestine in mind) and refused to sign the Charter. Returning to Iraq in July 1945, after discussions in Cairo, he was coolly received and resigned in August 1945.

In June 1946 he formed a Cabinet. It was to be a caretaker Government for the express purpose of holding speedy elections. It developed, however, into a headstrong dictatorship which threatened to bring into disrepute not only the Cabinet and the British connexion but also the Regent and the Royal House. Resigned November 1946 very reluctantly.

He played an important part in the organisation of the political opposition to the Portsmouth Treaty and the Government of Saleh Jabr, and he was prominent in the war of nerves directed against the Regent before the return from London of Nuri Pasha and Saleh Jabr.

He became Minister of Defence in the Sadr Cabinet which succeeded that of Saleh Jabr and was perhaps the most discordant element in that very inharmonious team. He probably hoped to succeed Muhammad al-Sadr as Prime Minister.

His opinions change with bewildering rapidity and he is obstinate and impatient of criticism but he has an attractive personality and capacity for hard work which is rare in an Iraqi.

Created K.B.E. for war services, 1946.

38. Asim-al-Naqib, Saiyid

The fourth son of Saiyid Abdul Rahman and younger brother of Saiyid Mahmud. Born Baghdad 1879. Appointed Naqib on the death of Saiyid Mahmud in July 1936. A man of little character, but he has successfully acquired the conventional appearance of a Sunni Alim and holy man.

39. Ata Amin

Born 1897. Appointed secretary to the Iraqi Legation in London, September 1932, on transfer from a consular post at Angora.

In the summer of 1933 it was discovered that he had, while in Turkey, married one of the sisters of the Amir Zaid a younger brother of King Faisal I. This was regarded as a scandal at the time, but later on he was forgiven. Appointed first secretary to the Iraqi Legation at Rome, October 1934. Transferred to London as counsellor in August 1935. Transferred to Paris as chargé d'affaires in August 1938 and to Berlin in February 1939.

In July 1939 he returned to Rome and remained there until June 1940, when he was transferred to London as chargé d'affaires. Returned to Baghdad, and was appointed Director-General at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in October 1945. Was appointed Iraqi Minister at Angora in August 1944. He speaks good English.

A weak and ineffective individual.

Transferred to Paris in July 1949, he is also accredited at Madrid.

40. Aziz Sheriff (Abdul Aziz bin Sheriff bin Abdul Majid)

Born Anah, Dulaimi Lawa, 1904. Sunni Muslim. Lawyer.

Educated up to middle school at Anah he entered the Secondary School Teachers' Training College and the Law College, Baghdad. He graduated from the Law College in 1931 and set up practice in Basra. He practised before the Basra Courts until 1941 when he was appointed to the Judicial Service and posted as judge at Hillah. Later he was transferred to Baghdad. In 1945 he resigned and returned to practice in partnership with Nadhim al Zahawi.

He always has been anti-British and anti-Government but came to particular notice as a Communist only some ten years ago. During the war years he did good work in combating "the Nazis," but always with an anti-British bias. After the Rashid Ali rebellion he, with other extremists including Muhammad Saleh Bahr al-Ullum, tried to form a society Hizb el Wahidah el Wataniyah el Demokratiyah. Owing to its combination, particularly the association of the latter individual, the good intentions of the proposers were doubted and sanction was not accorded. They continued to work and eventually the Hizb el Sha'ab was formed with Aziz Sheriff as the first President. Previously he had worked for a time with Kamal al Chadarchi (q.v.) but the views and policy of al Chadarchi were not sufficiently advanced for him and his associates, most of whom were employed in underground activity, and in the publication of secret Communist literature, e.g., *El Shararah, El Qa'idah, El 'Aami, &c.*, and in forming Communist "Cells" all over the country. Working with this group were many capable men and the publications, always published at the right moment, had considerable effect. Throughout they were extremely critical of Britain, belittled her efforts and praised anything and everything Russian. Aziz Sheriff himself owns the very strongly Leftist paper *El Wattan*, which openly publishes in a milder form matter formerly published in the "underground" press.

The Communist trials of 1947 did not produce any evidence to link Aziz with the underground organisations. Nevertheless, it is probable that his party, the Sha'ab, is to some extent penetrated by Communists properly so called.

After the closing of his party he fled to Syria in June 1947 where he remained until after the January disturbances in 1948. This action did not increase his prestige in Leftist circles.

41. Baba Ali Shaikh Mahmud

Son of the well-known Shaikh Mahmud (q.v.). Spent much of his early life in Persia while his father was engaged in his various rebellions. After Shaikh Mahmud's surrender to the Iraqi authorities in 1927, Baba Ali was sent to school by the Iraqi Government in Baghdad and later at Victoria College, Alexandria. In 1933 he went to America and studied political economy at Columbia for five years. On his return he was given a minor post in the railways, but resigned after a short time as he did not like the life of a Government official. In 1941 he was ill in Sulaimaniyah and did not join his father, who escaped from Baghdad. His open criticism of the

Administration led to his arrest and exile in July 1943. After his release in November he settled down to the improvement of his agricultural property, but again in February 1945 openly attacked the shortcomings of the Mutesarrif of Sulaimaniyah. This incident almost led to his arrest again.

Baba Ali speaks excellent English and possesses an attractive though not very forceful personality. Is very keen on improving the tobacco situation in Kurdistan and on preserving the remaining Kurdish forests. He has considerable practical knowledge of and enthusiasm for agriculture and if not blocked by bureaucratic methods may achieve something as Minister of Economics.

Resigned with whole of Nuri Pasha's Government in March 1947. Attacked the Government of Saleh Jabr on frequent occasions for their alleged anti-Kurdish policy, signs of which he distinguishes in the most improbable matters.

He failed to retain his seat in the 1948 elections.

42. Babekr Agha

A powerful chief of the Pizhder (Kurdish) tribe of Qalah Diza (on the Lesser Zab River, north of Sulaimani). Has always been honest and friendly in his dealings with the Government, whether British or Iraqi. An able and most estimable man, who has been liked and respected by all who have had close contact with him.

His rival for tribal influence is Abbas Mahmud Agha, who has always tended to be against the Government. Both, however, visited Baghdad in October 1933 and protested their loyalty and obedience to the Iraqi Government.

He behaved well after the Iraqi Government established normal administration in the Pizhder area in 1938.

On the outbreak of hostilities between Rashid Ali's rebel Government and the British forces in May 1941, Babekr Agha, together with Shaikh Mahmud and many of the Sulaimani tribal chiefs, planned a revolt against the Government. Rashid Ali's régime was, however, overthrown before their plans could materialise.

He visited the ambassador in December 1941 and pledged himself to act always under British guidance.

Operated on at I.P.C. Hospital in Kirkuk early in 1947 which may keep him alive a few years longer.

43. Baha ud Din Nuri

Born 1897 in Baghdad. Family said to be of Erbil origin. Joined Turkish army 1917, Iraqi army 1921. Attached British army 1927. Staff College, Camberley, 1935-36. Dismissed by Tala al Hashimi in 1938, then employed in the Iraqi State Railways. Assistant C.G.S. 1942. Retired from the army 1943. Mutesarrif, Sulaimaniyah, 1944. Deputy for Sulaimaniyah 1947 and 1948. Minister of Social Affairs from January 1949. Was generally co-operative with the embassy during his period as Minister, but was widely censured for his continued commercial connexions with a Lebanese company supplying the Government.

Speaks good English and Turkish.

44. Darwish al Haidari

Born in 1907, graduated from an American agricultural college and entered Iraq Government service in 1930. The greater part of his career has been spent in the Department of Agriculture, and for a long time he was manager of the Abu Ghurib experimental farm. In 1942, however, he became Acting Director-General of Grain. He was successful on the whole, but his term of office was marred by a quarrel with the then Mutesarrif of Baghdad, Ja'afar Hamandi (q.v.), as a result of which

he appeared before the Officials' Disciplinary Committee on a charge of illegally disposing of sixty sacks of grain belonging to the Supplies Department. He was transferred back to the Department of Agriculture.

In June 1943 he went to America as a member of the Iraqi delegation to the Hot Springs Food Conference, and in July 1946 he was appointed to his present post, that of Director-General of Agriculture.

His political views have generally been regarded as pro-British. He has, in the past, been considered a "Leftist" and a "Nationalist"; he now claims to be a "Democrat." He is not politically active, but in August of 1946 he was associated with Tahir and Nadim al Pachachi and others in an attempt to found a "United Nations Society," the aims of which were stated to be the enlightenment of the people on U.N.O. and the putting forward to the U.N.O. of suggestions in the Arab cause.

Thanks to the period spent in the United States, he has acquired many American ways. He speaks excellent English, as does his British-educated wife, who is the sister of Yusuf and Abdul Qadir al Gailani.

Represented Iraq at the F.A.O. conference at Geneva in August 1947. He showed commendable energy in directing the successful anti-beast campaign in the spring of 1948.

Though apparently jovial he is reported to be overbearing with his subordinates among whom he is most unpopular. His conduct of his Department does not arouse enthusiasm among British experts who have inspected it.

45. Daud-al-Haidari

Sunni of Baghdad. Born about 1880. Son of Ibrahim Effendi, ex-Sheikh-al-Islam. The family comes from Arbil, where Ibrahim Effendi has a small property. Daud Pasha was a Deputy and an aide-de-camp to the Sultan Abdul Hamid. Speaks Turkish better than Arabic. His English is fluent. He was in Constantinople during the war, and returned to Baghdad in 1921. Appointed, in October 1922, Amin-al-Umma (Chamberlain) in the King's palace. Member for Arbil in the Constituent Assembly, March 1924 and Vice-President. Voted for the treaty 1924. Hazb-al-Sha'ab and opposed treaty of 1926. Minister for Justice under Taufiq Suwaidi, April-November 1929. Disliked and distrusted in Arbil.

Re-elected to Chamber of Deputies to represent Arbil in general election of 1930, but has not held Cabinet appointment since Taufiq Suwaidi's Cabinet resigned in August 1929. In 1930 became lawyer for the British Oil Development Company in Baghdad, and has done quite well out of this work. Was not elected to the Chamber in the elections of 1934.

Appointed Iraqi Minister at Tehran in June 1941. Appointed Minister of Justice in February 1942, but was squeezed out of the Cabinet in June 1943 because of his intrigues against the Prime Minister. He was immediately appointed a Minister Grade I in the Foreign Service *en disponibilité*. Posted to London as Minister in October 1943. He took an active part in founding the Anglo-Iraqi Society in England, where he experienced the war at first hand, the Iraqi Legation being damaged by a bomb. His two daughters are emancipated and, after a successful debut in London, are now in Baghdad. Of very doubtful financial reputation, but a firm friend of the Royal House and a shrewd observer who can on occasion play a useful rôle.

Minister of Social Affairs in the Sadr Cabinet January to June 1948.

Resigned from the Senate in 1949, as the result of an interpretation of article 30 (d) of the Constitution. It is said that this interpretation was made with the object of necessitating his resignation.

46. Daud-al-Sa'adi (Saiyid)

Sunni of Bagdad. Born about 1887. Prominent extremist. Lawyer. Usually connected with all Nationalist agitations and intrigues. Elected to the Chamber for Hillah in August 1935.

Appointed public prosecutor in August 1936 by Yasin-al-Hashimi's Cabinet. Resigned in December after Yasin's fall.

Elected to the Chamber for Kut in December 1937 and again in June 1939. Banished from Bagdad by Jamil-al-Madfa'i in December 1938, but returned as soon as Nuri-al-Said became Prime Minister.

An active supporter of Rashid Ali in 1941, he fled to Persia at the end of May after the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebellion. He was handed over to the British military authorities by the Persian Government after the entry of British forces into Persia in September 1941. Imprisoned at Ahwaz and then sent to Southern Rhodesia for internment. Brought back to Bagdad for trial in March 1944.

He succeeded in obtaining his release on medical grounds and is now the doyen of the ex-interns and a leader of the Independence Party.

Became a Deputy for Bagdad in the 1948 elections.

47. Dhia Ja'far

Born in 1911. He was educated in England where he spent nine years studying mechanical engineering at Birmingham University, and where he obtained a B.Sc. degree in 1934 and Ph.D. in 1936. After completing his studies he had twenty months' training with the Great Western Railways. On returning to Iraq he was appointed assistant mechanical engineer, Iraqi State Railways in 1937. He was subsequently promoted to mechanical engineer.

During the war he was Director-General of Engineering Supplies. He became Deputy for Bagdad in the 1947 elections and was appointed Minister of Communications and Works under Saleh Jabr's Government of March 1947.

His family enjoys an extremely doubtful financial reputation, and so does he. He is, however, well educated and speaks excellent English.

Resigned with the Cabinet in January 1948. Minister of Economics in Nuri Pasha's 1949 Cabinet.

48. Fadhil Jamali, Dr.

Born Kadhimiya 1902. Shi'ah. Educated at the American University of Beirut 1921-27. Columbia University, New York, 1927-29. Wrote a thesis on education among the tribes for his doctorate. On his return to Iraq he was appointed to the Ministry of Education. In 1933 he was made Director-General of Instruction. He has a natural predilection for American methods and is a disciple of Mr. Dewey.

In early 1938 he was invited by the British Council to visit the United Kingdom to study British educational methods. He was well entertained and shown the best colleges and schools of all kinds. As a result he became far more favourably disposed towards British education.

Although he posed as pro-British and generally collaborated in a friendly manner with the Embassy in developing the work of the British Council, he cannot escape responsibility for the deplorable state of education in Iraq. He was determined to do his utmost to resist British influence and opposed the appointment of a British adviser and the establishment of a boarding school on public school lines under British control. He was finally transferred from his post of director-general and appointed counsellor at the Iraqi Legation in Washington in January 1943, but at the end of May he was still in Bagdad hoping to contrive somehow to return to a

post in Education. A year later he was still in Bagdad as transport by air could not be found to take him and his family to the United States. He has a Canadian wife, and is on friendly terms with the United States Legation. Appointed Director-General for Foreign Affairs in 1944. Member of Iraqi delegation to the San Francisco Conference in April 1945. Returned to Iraq August 1945. Still desirous of returning to Education. Is outwardly zealously pro-British nowadays, and professionally always obliging and helpful.

In June 1946 joined Arshad al Umari's Cabinet as Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which capacity he attended the Palestine Conference in London in September.

He is a self-made man and the first of the type to reach a prominent position. He is intensely ambitious, but has to feel his way carefully and is therefore something of a "Yes-man." No one has ever been able to accuse him of corruption. He is rabid on the subject of Zionism.

He has remained Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Governments of Nuri Pasha 1946-47 and Saleh Jabr March 1947 but has spent much time outside Iraq, at U.N.O. on the Palestine question and later in London leading Iraqi delegation for Sterling Balance talks.

His trips abroad have brought him greater self-confidence but he does not pay enough attention to the internal political situation. He is, therefore, apt to underestimate the difficulties of the policies he urges.

Resigned with the Cabinet in January 1948 but managed to avoid much of the stigma attaching to signatories of the Portsmouth Treaty. Visited Persia in the spring of 1948 and made an extensive tour in the course of which he did some propaganda for the Arab case in Palestine. Like all Saleh Jabr's Ministers he failed to be re-elected to the Chamber in June 1948. He is now (1948) in political partnership with Arshad al Umari.

Appointed Iraqi Minister at Cairo in March 1949, but remained there less than a fortnight. Returned to become Minister for Foreign Affairs in Nuri Pasha's Government. Since he was not a Deputy or Senator he was compelled to resign after six months and became Iraqi Permanent Delegate to the United Nations Organisation.

49. Fa'iq Samarrai

Sunni, born Basra about 1904. Entered Bagdad Law College 1928 and had an anti-British record there. Sentenced to six months' (later reduced to three months) imprisonment, 1930, for anti-British anti-Treaty demonstrations. Passed Law College 1932, secretary in the Ministry of Justice 1933, Tapu Department 1934, Superintendent of Labour in Ministry of Interior 1935. Attended Geneva Labour Conference 1936. Afterwards served in the Ministry of Justice and Tapu again. Director-General Press and Propaganda 1939, afterwards served in the Palace and Ministry of Social Affairs, Director-General of Municipalities 1940. Interned 1941, and reported to be a very troublesome internee. Founder member of the Istiqlal Party 1946. Secretary-general of the party 1947, vice-president 1948 and 1949. Elected Deputy for Samarra 1948. Resigned from Parliament and party May 1949, but withdrew both resignations.

Has recently made statements slightly more favourable to Great Britain, but would still bitterly oppose any treaty which we should regard as reasonable.

50. Hamid Naqib

Sunni Muslim. Born about 1890. Brother of Saiyid Talib Pasha, who was powerful enough to

defy the Turks in the last days of the Ottoman administration, and who was arrested and exiled in 1920 owing to his opposition to the coming of the late King Feisal to Iraq. Since Saiyid Talib's death Saiyid Hamid has been the head of the most influential Basra family. Deputy for Basra from 1930 until 1947, when he was made a Senator. Complains that the Government takes insufficient notice of Basra interests.

51. Hanna Khaiyat

Syrian Catholic of Mosul. Born 1884. Medical diploma at Beirut and Paris, much medical and administrative experience and extremely able on both sides. Head of the Mosul Hospital under the Government of Occupation. Appointed Minister of Health 1921. When the Ministry was abolished in 1922 he accepted the post of Director of Medical Services. Speaks excellent French. Appointed Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs October 1931. Appointed Inspector-General of Health in 1933. Became director of the Bagdad General Hospital and dean of the Royal Medical College in September 1934. Appointed Inspector-General of Health September 1937. Inspector-General of the Ministry of Social Affairs in December 1939.

Placed on pension at the end of 1940. Reappointed Director-General of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Director-General of Health in July 1941.

Appointed Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs in January 1943.

Headed Iraqi delegation to Arab Medical Congress 1943. Elected a Deputy, October 1943. Became an invalid in April 1944.

52. Hashim Jawad

Born Bagdad 1911. Muslim, Shi'ah. Educated in Bagdad schools and at Beirut and London Universities. After graduating he returned from London in 1936 and shortly afterwards was posted to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and nominated as Iraq's representative on the permanent International Labour Office at Geneva. In that capacity he took part in several conferences. He returned to Iraq in 1941 and has been employed on labour affairs in one capacity or another ever since. In 1946 he was transferred to the Ministry of Social Affairs, as Director-General of a newly created Labour Department, in which capacity he attended the I.L.O. Congress at Montreal in September.

A very quiet, serious and studious man; well balanced and moderate of speech. He holds strong views on the rights of "Labour" and undoubtedly tries to act up to his principles. Since the Trades Union Movement and Labour questions have come more to the fore in Iraq he has gained much valuable practical experience in the settling of disputes and labour conditions generally, and there seems reason for hoping that in time he might be able to do something tangible to better the working and social conditions of the Iraqi working classes. He is not lacking in personality, but is more of a quiet, solid plodder than an enthusiast, such as is really wanted for the task. As might be expected, in politics his conversation indicates an inclination to the Left, but he is neither a member nor an associate of the members of the Political Leftist Parties recently established in Bagdad.

He was removed from his position as Director-General of Labour by Arshad al-Umari in 1946. After his removal the Department of Labour has sunk into a powerless desuetude.

In Geneva at International Labour Organisation Conference July 1947.

Now holds an appointment with the I.L.O. at Geneva.

53. Hazim ibn Yusuf Pasha

Chief of the Shurifan tribe and one of the largest landowners of the Zakho district, which he farms progressively, making use of agricultural machinery. A member of the Chamber of Deputies from 1925 to 1929 and again from 1938 to 1947, when he was appointed a Senator. A rich man who has made money from agriculture and from military contracts during the war. Speaks Arabic and Turkish well and some English.

54. Hikmat Sulaiman

Sunni. Born 1886. Director of Education in Bagdad under the Turks. Also Assistant Governor, Member of C.U.P. Was in Constantinople at the time of the occupation. Returned in January 1921 and was a candidate for the Ministry of Education. Made Director of Posts in April 1922 and Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs in April 1923. Minister of Interior in the second Sadun Cabinet. Lost his seat in the Chamber in the general election of 1930, but became Minister for Interior in March 1933. Resigned from Cabinet with Rashid Ali in October 1933, and from Chamber in November 1933. He played an active part in organising intensive opposition to Ali Jaudat's Cabinet in the early months of 1935, but refused office in the Cabinet formed by Yasin Pasha after Ali Jaudat's fall. Paid a long visit to Turkey in the summer of 1935 and returned full of praise for modern Turkish methods. In the autumn of 1935 he was offered the portfolio of the Ministry of Justice, but did not accept it. Is very influential in political circles, where his intelligence is much respected.

In October 1936 he joined with Bakr Sidqi in the plot which resulted in the successful military revolt against Yasin-al-Hashimi's Government, and upon Yasin's resignation he became Prime Minister. He remained in office until August 1937 when, after the murder of Bakr Sidqi, he and his Cabinet resigned. As a Prime Minister he was disappointing. His intentions were excellent, but his impatience with detail and administrative routine, coupled with the malign influence exercised by Bakr Sidqi over the Cabinet, prevented him from achieving anything of importance.

A well-mannered man of wide Liberal views.

In 1938, though he took no active part in politics, he was on the alert to keep Nuri-al-Said from returning to power. When Nuri-al-Said formed a Government in December 1938, he sent messages of goodwill to Hikmat and later calls were exchanged between Hikmat and Sabah, Nuri's son. In spite of their reconciliation, he was arrested early in March 1939, tried by court-martial for treason and sentenced to death. This was at the same time commuted to five years' imprisonment. In the summer of 1939 he was removed to Sulaimani, where he was interned in a comfortable house.

In April 1941 was released by Rashid Ali and allowed to go to Persia, where he remained throughout the May rebellion. He afterwards returned to Bagdad and gradually began to take part in social life.

He became a flourishing farmer and took no further political part until 1947 largely because of his unpopularity with the Regent and Nuri Pasha. During 1947, however, he began to organise opposition to Saleh Jabr's Government and with Arshad al-Umari and Nasrat al-Farisi took part in the political intrigues which combined with the street demonstrations to cause the fall of Saleh Jabr and the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty. He continued to be politically active behind the scenes during the life of the Sadr Cabinet and was tipped by some observers as a possible successor to Mohammad al-Sadr. After the formation of the Muzahim Pachaichi

Government he left Bagdad to spend the summer in Turkey.

His wife is a Daghlstanti, a sister of Mrs. Najib-al-Rawi (q.r.).

55. Husain Fauzi-bin-Hassan

Sunni of Kurdish origin. Born in Bagdad in 1885. Entered the Military College in Istanbul and received a commission in the Turkish army in 1909. Joined the Iraqi army (artillery) in May 1922. Promoted major 1925. He has passed the Senior Officers' Course at Belgaum, India, and has twice been attached to units in England for training. Promoted lieutenant-colonel in 1929 and colonel in 1933. In 1934 he was appointed Commandant of the Staff School, Bagdad, and in February 1935 he was given the command of the Northern District. In August 1935 he became a brigadier, and in November 1936 he was made G.O.C., 1st Infantry Division. A pleasant man with good manners. He speaks good English. He had nothing to do with the military revolt of October 1936. After the murder of Bakr Sidqi in August 1937 he was appointed Chief of the General Staff. Relieved of his appointment and placed on pension in February 1940 for interference in politics.

56. Ibrahim Akif-al-Alousi

Sunni. Born Bagdad 1894. Educated Bagdad and Turkey. Graduated from Medical College, Istanbul, 1916, and came to Iraq, where he served in several places under the Turks. Joined Iraqi Health Service, and served as Director of Health, Basra and Bagdad, with considerable success.

Was Director-General of Public Health in May 1939 and afterwards Inspector-General of Health Services in Ministry of Social Affairs. He is secretary-general of the Iraqi Red Crescent Society.

Appointed Minister of Education in Hamdi Pashuchi's Cabinet in June 1944.

Appointed Director-General of Social Affairs in 1946.

Transferred to the Foreign Service and appointed Iraqi Minister at Damascus in November 1948.

57. Ismail Namiq, K.B.E.

Sunni, originally from Mosul. Born 1892, son of an officer in the Turkish army. Educated at Military College, and gazetted an officer in the Ottoman army in Istanbul in 1912. Joined Amir Faisal in 1917 and commanded the Hashimi Cavalry. After becoming an officer in the Iraqi army in 1921 he attended various courses, including one of six months at Tidworth, where he did well. Became Commandant of the Iraqi Staff College in 1931 and Commander of the Iraqi air force in 1933. Commanded the Cavalry Brigade 1936 and the Third Division 1937. Was appointed Director-General of Administration in the Ministry of Defence in 1941, becoming a lieutenant-general the same year. Became Acting Chief of the General Staff in November 1941 and as such accompanied the Regent to England in October 1943. On the 21st December, 1944, he joined the Cabinet of Hamdi-al-Pashuchi as Minister of Defence. Became a Senator in May 1945. He is generally considered to be pro-British. He is a man of sound sense. He has not, until 1944, mixed in politics, and disapproved of Bakr Sidqi's *coup d'état*. His venality has been the subject of comment, but he is quiet and temperate. Speaks good English.

He is at present in retirement, but may well return to the Cabinet later. The Regent likes and trusts him.

Created K.B.E. for war services, 1943.

58. Ismail Safwat

Born 1894. Commissioned in the Iraqi army in 1924. 1935 commanded the 1/3 Battalion. He is reported to have sympathised with Bakr Sidqi's movement. 1937 he served on the staff of the 1st Division. From 1940 to 1943 he headed the Iraqi Mission to the Yemen. On his return he was appointed to command the 7th Infantry Brigade at Basra. Transferred to 1st Infantry Brigade, Bagdad, in November 1943. Appointed Director of Military Operations in the Ministry of Defence in 1944. 1945 G.O.C., 2nd Division, Kirkuk. Promoted major-general 1946. October 1947 he was president of a military committee of the Arab League which sat at Aley in the Lebanon. Appointed Deputy Chief of General Staff 1948 and on the outbreak of the Palestine War he was made commander of the Irregular Arab Army of Liberation. Returned to Iraq in 1949 and was appointed G.O.C., 2nd Division, Kirkuk.

Tactless and has no sense of humour. As a senior officer he achieves results by drive rather than leadership. He is unpopular and is said to drink and gamble. He is still interested in politics and in this respect he is a potential danger to the good discipline of the Iraqi army.

59. Ibrahim Saleh el Kabir, O.B.E.

Born Bagdad 1885.

Jew. Married to Rettee Sha'ul Elias. His son Jamil, born 1926, is now in England (Nottingham University). Has a daughter, Aida, born 1936. Has three brothers, viz.: Saliman el Kabir, lawyer, Bagdad; Hesqil el Kabir, merchant, London; Yusuf el Kabir, lawyer, Bagdad.

Educated at the Alliance School, Bagdad; he entered business in the office of the merchant Hesqil Toweg, but continued his studies by attending occasional lectures at other institutions. Some time before the occupation of Bagdad in 1917 he went to Persia, having by then been admitted as a partner to Hesqil Toweg. He remained in Persia for some time, but after the fall of Bagdad he returned and found an appointment in the Ministry of Finance, Accounts Department. He remained in this Department and by gradual promotion became Accountant-General. Later he was transferred to the Directorate-General of Railways in the same capacity. He held this appointment for some years, but has now returned to his former post.

Ibrahim el Kabir has never been a politician: he is a typical civil servant. Absolutely trustworthy but extremely guarded in his speech. He, however, is known to have a very bitter tongue on occasion. He is not very popular, on account of a rather sneering expression and manner, possibly due to somewhat weak eyesight. A sound, reliable public servant, but too timid ever to make a mark for himself. In 1948 he gave evidence before the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry on Palestine.

Awarded the O.B.E. for war services, 1946.

Speaks good English.

Was chief negotiator in the Iraqi delegation to London for Sterling Balances talks, where he won golden opinions from the British delegation.

He again went to London in the summer of 1948 on the Iraqi delegation sent to discuss the taking over of the Iraq Currency Board.

Retired in 1948.

60. Jafar Hamandi

Born 1894. At the time of the outbreak of war in 1914 he was a school-teacher in Bagdad. After the war he graduated at the Bagdad Law School and was appointed to a junior judgeship in Kadhimia. Later he was given an appointment in the Ministry of Justice. In 1930 he was transferred to the

Ministry of the Interior and became kaimukam of Najaf, then after serving in several other districts he was made Mutesarrif of Kut in 1936 and was later transferred to the same post in Hilla. He was appointed Minister for Education in Hikmat Sulaiman's Cabinet in June 1937. Resigned in August 1937, and in September he was appointed Director-General of tribal affairs in the Ministry of the Interior.

Appointed Mutesarrif of Kut September 1938, and transferred to Muntafiq February 1939, to Kerbala in September 1939.

Appointed Minister of Social Affairs in the Cabinet formed by Jamil Madfai in June 1941 after the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebellion. Resigned with the whole Cabinet in October 1941.

Appointed Mutesarrif of Bagdad in December 1941.

Resigned in October 1942. In early 1943 he received a substantial grant of Government land in the Hillah liwa. Saleh Jabr as Minister of Finance helped him to obtain this. In October 1943 was elected Shia Deputy for Hilla. Visited Palestine in early 1945.

Elected a Deputy for Bagdad in 1947 he has been active in Opposition in the Chamber to the Government of Saleh Jabr.

Failed to secure re-election in June 1948.

61. Jalal Baban

Kurd of the Baban family. Born 1892.

In the early days of British occupation he was actively associated with extreme Nationalists and was deported to Henjatin in 1920. Released in 1921. Appointed kaimukam in 1923 and continued to serve in the civil administration, holding the posts of mutessarif in Nasiriyah, Karbala and Arbil until November 1932, when he became Minister of Economics and Communications in Naji Shawkat's Cabinet. Became Minister for Defence under Rashid Ali-al-Gilani in March 1933. Resigned with the latter in October 1933. Appointed Minister for Education in February 1934, resigned with Jamil-al-Madfai's Cabinet in August 1934, and was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Finance in December 1934. Transferred to be Director-General of the Ministry of Economics and Communications in June 1935. Appointed Director-General of Finance in December 1936.

In August 1937 he joined Jamil-al-Madfai's Cabinet as Minister of Economics and Communications. Made a Senator. Resigned from Cabinet in May 1938 on account of insinuations made by his colleagues (not without reason) that he had made a corrupt agreement with a Government road contractor. Appointed Minister of Communications and Works in September 1939; resigned with whole Cabinet in February 1940.

Appointed Minister of Communications and Works in the Cabinet of Jamil Madfai in June 1941. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in October 1941.

In the sessions of 1941 and 1942 he was active in the Senate as a critic of Government measures.

Appointed Minister of Finance in June 1943, but resigned in October of the same year.

Minister of Communications and Works in the Sadr Cabinet of January 1948 and held the same portfolio in the succeeding Governments of Muzahim Pashuchi (June 1948) and Nuri Pasha (January 1949).

62. Jamal Baban

A Kurdish lawyer. Born 1890. Served for some time as a judge in the Northern Liwas. Became Deputy for Arbil in the general election of 1928. Appointed Minister for Justice in Nuri Pasha's

Cabinet March 1930. Resigned with Nuri Pasha in October 1932. Reappointed Minister for Justice in Jamil-Madfai's Cabinet in November 1933. Retained his portfolio when Jamil-al-Madfai reformed his Cabinet in February 1934 and remained at the Ministry of Justice in Ali Jaudat's Cabinet formed in August 1934. Resigned with the whole Cabinet in February 1935, and in October joined the party organised by Jamil-al-Madfai to oppose Yasin Pasha. Owed his continued presence in successive Cabinets perhaps more to the tradition that each Cabinet must have one Kurd than to his personal abilities.

Returned for Arbil in the elections of June 1939. After practising as an advocate, returned to public life again by his appointment as Minister of Social Affairs in the Cabinet formed by Nuri-al-Said in October 1941.

Resigned in October 1942 and began practising again as an advocate.

Minister of Justice in Saleh Jabr's Government of 1947 and appointed Senator on 2nd July, 1947. He has been the object of adverse criticism in his capacity of Minister of Justice both for venality and for influencing judges, particularly in the Communist trials.

He acted as Prime Minister during Saleh Jabr's absence in London for the signature of the Portsmouth Treaty. He handled the admittedly difficult situation created by the demonstrations with marked ineptitude, but in his defence it must be said that Saleh Jabr had inexorably kept him completely in the dark over the course of the negotiations. He resigned with two other Ministers before Jabr himself gave up hope and resigned.

63. Jamil-al-Rawi

A Bagdadi; born 1892, officer in the Turkish army. Served in the Sherrefian forces during the Arab revolt, Chief aide-de-camp to King Ali in Jedda, and came to Iraq with His Majesty after Ibn Saud's conquest of the Hejaz. Elected Deputy for Dulaim in the general election of 1928, became vice-president of the Traqaddun party and Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies. Minister for Communications and Works in Nuri Pasha's Cabinet formed in March 1930. Became Minister for Defence in January 1931, but lost his portfolio when Nuri Pasha reformed his Cabinet in October 1931. Appointed Mutesarrif of Kirkuk July 1932. Transferred to Kut in October 1935. His services were dispensed with by the Hashimi Cabinet in March 1936. In December 1936 he was in Jerusalem and in touch with the Grand Mufti and the Arab movement in Palestine. Appointed Iraqi Chargé d'Affaires in Jedda September 1939.

Appointed consul-general at Jerusalem in July 1941. Withdrawn in the autumn of 1941 and was appointed Iraqi Minister at Jeddah in December 1942.

Returned to Bagdad in 1945. Appointed Director-General of Public Works 1946.

Speaks some English.

Appointed Minister at Amman in May 1947.

64. Jamil-al-Madfai

Of Mosul, born about 1886. Led the party which in June 1920 came from Dair and called upon the tribes to rise against the British in the name of the Sherref. Entered Tall Afar after the murder of Captain Stuart, which he had instigated. Styled himself leader of the Northern Mesopotamian army. On the approach of British troops from Mosul returned to Dair. Returned to Iraq 1923. Soon after, appointed mutessarif and saw service in a number of different liwas. Appointed Minister for

the Interior under Nuri Pasha in March 1931. Became President of the Chamber in December 1930, following Jafar Pasha's resignation. Resigned October 1931, at the same time resigning from Nuri Pasha's party as a protest against the high-handed actions of Muzahim Beg Al Pashaali, then Minister for the Interior. Composed his quarrel with Nuri Pasha in November and was re-elected President of the Chamber on the 20th November. Again elected President in November 1932 and March 1933. Became Prime Minister in November 1933. Resigned in February 1934, but resumed office with a reformed Cabinet about ten days later. Resigned again in August 1934, but accepted portfolio of Defence in Cabinet which was then formed by Ali Jaudat. Became Prime Minister in March 1935, but was forced to resign by Yasin Pasha's agitation in the Euphrates after being in office for only twelve days. In October 1935 revived the party of National Unity as an opposition to Yasin Pasha's Cabinet, but received little support. Declined an invitation to join the Cabinet formed by Hikmat Sulaiman in October 1936. In the winter of 1936-37 he went to the Yemen to obtain the adhesion of the Imam to the Pact of Arab Brotherhood, signed by Saudi Arabia and Iraq in April 1936, and in August 1937, after the resignation of Hikmat Sulaiman's Cabinet, he became Prime Minister.

He lacks administrative ability, but is a figure in the political world. Is generally popular because he expresses his opinion in an honest, downright manner.

Throughout 1938 he held his Cabinet together and carried on the government of the country in difficult circumstances with success. Forced to resign on the 25th December, 1938, by a military demonstration organised by Husain Fauzi, the Chief of the General Staff, and Tuba-al-Hashimi in favour of Nuri-al-Said. Continues to enjoy considerable political influence.

When Rashid Ali seized power by a coup d'Etat at the beginning of April 1941, Jamil Madfai fled to Basra, where he joined the Regent. Both narrowly escaped capture by the Iraqi rebel troops and took refuge on a British warship. Thence they were flown to Palestine, where Jamil Madfai remained during Rashid Ali's rebellion of May. He returned to Iraq with the Regent on the collapse of the rebellion, and after considerable hesitation was persuaded to form a Cabinet. Faced with the difficult task of restoring public confidence and security, he showed that he had lost his former resolution and energy. An ageing man, susceptible to the intervention of others, he inclined towards a policy of appeasement and refrained from drastic action against the pro-Nazi elements. Within these limits, however, he co-operated loyally with His Majesty's Government, and during the four months of his premiership conditions in Iraq were largely restored to normal. Feeling unable, however, to carry out the policy of strong action which was pressed on him from many sides, Jamil Madfai, together with the whole Cabinet, resigned in October 1941.

Since then he has been active in the Senate. In March-April 1943 he visited Syria, Transjordan and Egypt at the request of Nuri Said to canvass support for the idea of an Arab congress to plan the closer union of all Arab States. He met with little success but was pleased to have had an opportunity to maintain his part as a veteran of the Pan-Arab movement.

Elected President of the Senate in December 1943, in which position he used his influence against Nuri Pasha's Government. Superseded as president in December 1944 and resigned from Senate in February 1945.

His name was widely canvassed in May and June 1947 as a possible leader of an anti-Government bloc to be composed of the Left and Reformist Parties

together with a few old-time politicians; this bloc appears to have come to nothing.

Is now very rich. Has much land in favourable positions and is interested in many commercial ventures whose success is at least partly due to his influence.

Became Minister of Interior in the Saqr Cabinet of January 1948 but resigned shortly afterwards for reasons of health which were partly genuine. His main motive was, however, his disagreements with his colleagues and his desire to avoid the burden and the blame of holding the Interior during parliamentary elections.

65. Jamil-al-Wadi

Sunni of Bagdad. Brother of Hamid-al-Wadi, aide-de-camp to the Amir Abdullah, and Shakir-al-Wadi, formerly aide-de-camp to the late King Faisal (q.v.).

Appointed a judge in 1923 and became director of the Land Registry Department (Tapu) in 1931.

Appointed Minister for Justice November 1932. Resigned with Cabinet in March 1933. Appointed Director-General of State Domains Lands (in the Ministry of Finance) October 1933. Returned to the Ministry of Justice in June 1934 as member of the Court of Cassation, and a month later was appointed Chief Public Prosecutor. Appointed Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs in April 1935.

Appointed principal private secretary in the Palace in July 1937, but lost this post when Hikmat Sulaiman's Cabinet fell, and was passed into obscurity as an inspector in the Ministry of Justice.

Appointed Director-General of Tapu in January 1938, and of Land Settlement in August 1939 when the latter Department was amalgamated with Tapu.

Land Settlement was taken away from him in the autumn of 1941. Dishonest and corrupt.

66. Jamil Abdul Wahhab

Born about 1900 of a comparatively unimportant family, he was able to contract an alliance with a niece of Nuri Pasha-al-Said and it is to this influence that he probably owes any political distinction that he has obtained. Educated at the Bagdad Law College, he was for some time a judge. A keen political intriguer, he was at one time arrested and deported by Jamal Madfai. His attitude during the Rashid Ali rebellion was ambiguous, nevertheless he was elected Deputy for Diyala in October 1943 and became president of the Lawyers' Association in March 1940. His first ministerial appointment was in Nuri Pasha-al-Said's coalition Government of November 1940, in which he was Minister of Social Affairs. He retained this portfolio in the succeeding Cabinet of March 1947 under Saleh Jabr. He appears to devote any talents that he may possess to political intrigue and was said to take practically no interest in his Ministry. He is personally spiteful, ambitious and untrustworthy. He speaks a little English.

A personal friend of the Regent. He was selected as Iraqi Minister at Cairo in April 1949, but the agreement of the Egyptian Government has not been forthcoming.

67. Jehran Malkon

Was at one time associated with Rafael Butti in the publishing of *Al Bilad*. In 1940 he refused German Legation offers made by Dr. Grobba to publish anti-Jewish articles. Malkon is now proprietor of *Al Akhbar*, although he does not write the articles as he himself does not write good Arabic. Malkon comes from a large and wealthy family in Mardin. He and his sister were the only two who escaped a family massacre in 1917 when the remainder of the

family was wiped out by the Turks and the Germans. Malkon and his sister found refuge in Deir-az-Zor. After the British occupation he was appointed a director of customs and excise.

He is a man of a mild and affable disposition but he has more courage than his meek appearance suggests and has always resisted pressure to publish articles unfriendly to Britain. He has, in fact, resolutely kept clear of all political controversy, a very creditable achievement for any editor in Bagdad. *Al Akhbar* is now generally accepted as the leading vernacular newspaper and has the largest circulation. Malkon is scoffed at by his fellow-editors but has no real enemies. He visited Britain in 1945 with a delegation of Iraqi journalists and came back full of wonder and admiration for all he had seen. He has a large happy family.

He speaks a little English.

68. Kamil al Chadirehi

A Muslim (Sunni) born in Bagdad in 1901. His brother is Raul al Chadirehi who was Iraqi Chargé d'Affaires in London. Kamil was educated locally and graduated at the Bagdad Law College. He obtained a minor post in the Ministry of Finance but soon gave up this job for journalism and political agitation. In 1930 he was editor of *Al Ikha al Watani* (National Brotherhood) which paper was suppressed for its attacks on the Government of Nuri Said. In May 1934 he was convicted for publishing false news in *Sawt al Ahali*, and in September of the same year he was arrested for publishing pamphlets against King Ghazi, but was released for lack of evidence. He was at that time well known for his Left-wing views. The coup d'Etat of Hikmat Sulaiman in 1936 gave him his first Cabinet post as Minister of Economics and Communications in October of that year—a post which he resigned in June 1937 because of a difference of opinion on the Cabinet's policy regarding the Euphrates. He left the country for a few months, returning after the Bekr Sidqi incident, and from that time he has been an active leftist politician. He formed the Democratic Party, described as "left of centre," which includes among its members Mohammed Hadid, Majid Mostafa and Hikmat Sulaiman (q.v.). Given the right conditions his party might expect strong support from the middle classes, particularly the younger professional men.

Kamil al Chadirehi was asked to enter Nuri Pasha's Cabinet in 1943 but refused to do so on the ground that he could only take office if he could head a Government formed of his own party. In the autumn of 1946 he fell foul of the Government. He was arrested, tried and imprisoned for attacking the Government in his newspaper *Sawt al Ahali*. His sentence was subsequently quashed and a re-trial ordered (October).

The trial made a considerable stir which his party exploited, but the affair showed that he is no leader. He has progressive ideas but is unable to co-ordinate them or to form any stable or consistent policy. Chadirehi is a rich landlord, cultivated, and a pleasant dinner-party companion. He is no Communist and has had little personal contact with the working-classes whose cause he champions in the clubs and drawing-rooms of Bagdad. His English is weak but his Turkish is good. He is friendly to us and has just sent his son to study at an English university.

As the leader of the National Democratic Party he has given expression in his newspaper to strong views against various aspects of the policy of Saleh Jabr, notably the Turkish and Transjordan treaties. This again led to his trial on press law charges in 1947.

The National Democratic Party announced the suspension of their activities early in 1949, alleging that the Government had systematically opposed them.

69. Khalid Sulaiman

Brother of Hikmat Sulaiman (q.v.). Born 1877. Returned in 1926 from Constantinople, where he had spent most of his life in commerce. Was Minister for Education under Taufiq Suwaidi in April 1929. In the reshuffle of portfolios which followed Abdul Muhaim Beg's suicide in November 1929, Khalid Beg was made Minister for Irrigation and Agriculture under Naji Pasha Suwaidi. A pleasant, honest and likeable man, but has no influence in politics. Appointed Director-General, Public Works Department, January 1932. Transferred to be Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs in September 1934. Appointed Iraqi Minister at Tehran March 1935.

Retired in March 1939 and now lives on his pension.

70. Khalid Zahawi

Sunni. Born 1889. Entered Military College at Constantinople in 1903. Served in the Turkish army until 1924. Joined Iraq army and was appointed aide-de-camp to the late King Faisal I. Promoted to colonel in 1931 and appointed Commandant of the Military College. Went to the Staff College, Camberley, in 1934 and on his return was made a brigadier and appointed Director of Military Operations. Became O.C. R.I.A.F., in 1936. Appointed Director of Army Administration in 1937. Placed on pension in February 1939. Appointed Mutessarif of Kut in October 1939. After the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebellion in May 1941 became Mutessarif of Bagdad, but was relieved of his appointment in June.

Appointed Iraqi Minister at Kabul in November 1942.

Now retired.

71. Khalil Ismaili

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1903. Graduate of Law College, Bagdad. Held various positions under the Ministry of the Interior 1925-32. Appointed Secretary to the Cabinet 1932. Director-General of Ministry of Interior 1935. Director-General of Education 1936. Pleasant, reasonable, speaks English well.

Appointed Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in August 1937, but in October he was sent to be Mutessarif of Amarah.

Director-General of Ministry of the Interior September 1938.

Appointed Director-General of Awqaf in 1940. Appointed Director-General of Census in October 1941.

Director-General of Finance, August 1943.

Appointed Director-General of Revenues in December 1942.

Transferred to the more lucrative post of Director-General of Customs and Excise in March 1945. Chairman of the Import Committee of Ministry of Supply formed in July 1947.

Under-Secretary of Finance and Acting Minister of Finance after the resignation of Ali Mumtaz in November 1948. Minister of Finance in Nuri Pasha's 1949 Government.

72. Khushaba, Malik

Assyrian chieftain of the Lower Tiari tribe, aged about 55. Presbyterian, and generally in disagreement with Mar Shimun. Well educated by American missionaries at Urundia. A striking personality with a romantic record as fighter and leader. Supported the Iraqi Government in their efforts to settle the Assyrians satisfactorily in Iraq and thereby incurred

the bitter enemy of Mar Shimun. Many of his followers were, however, quite innocently massacred in August 1933 in spite of their friendly attitude towards the Iraqi Government. He desires to leave Iraq, but does not wish to be resettled in the same place as Mar Shimun.

Since hope of moving all the Assyrians from Iraq has been abandoned, Malik Khushaba has settled down to a quiet life in his village. Now resides in Mosul.

73. Mahmud Abdul Karim

Aged about 32. Reuters correspondent in Iraq. Worked as a secretary in the Royal Biltan from 1932-33. Started a daily newspaper called *Al Digar* in 1935 but it was not a success and folded up in July 1936. Karim is very friendly to us. He went to London with the Iraqi press delegation in 1945 and remained in England for some time working in Reuters head office. He returned to England in January 1946 as press attache to the Iraqi Delegation to U.N.O. He was a follower of Ibrahim Kemal (q.v.) but has taken no active part in politics. He was well-liked by Hamdi Pashazli but is disliked by Nuri Pasha and has fallen foul of Arshad. He is a good writer but is inclined to be careless in checking his facts. While in England he fell in love with a London solicitor's daughter whom he married in the summer of 1946. He speaks fluent English.

74. Mahmud Agha Zibari

A brother of Ahmed Agha whose position as chief of the Zibaris he usurped in 1943. A constant thorn in the flesh of the Government who have, until recently, adopted a policy of appeasement towards him. He was a Deputy in 1947 and has been given the Order of the Rafidun Class IV. He took the Government side against Mulla Mustafa in 1945, but he is related by marriage to the Mulla and is reported now to be in sympathy with him. He is mainly a brigand, but has strong influence in tribal circles and cannot be ignored.

75. Mahmud Subhi Daftari

Sunni of Baghdad. Lawyer. Born 1890. Went with his father to Constantinople during the occupation and returned in 1919. Appointed Amin-al-Asimah (Mayor of Baghdad) April 1930, but was dismissed in September 1931. Appointed principal of the Law School November 1931, but resigned immediately after his appointment. Became Director-General of Tapu December 1932 and Amin-al-Asimah October 1933. Transferred to the Ministry of the Interior as Director-General of Municipalities in November 1936. He soon quarrelled with Arshad-al-Umari, the Amin-al-Asimah, and resigned. He was made a Senator in October 1937.

Pleasant, well intentioned and noticeably more moderate in politics than in his earlier days.

Became Minister of Justice in Cabinet formed by Nuri-al-Said in December 1939, but devoted more attention to his entertaining than to his official duties. Resigned February 1940 with whole Cabinet.

Made a Senator in 1940.

Made Minister for Foreign Affairs in Nuri Said's Cabinet in December 1943, a post which he obviously enjoyed enormously. Resigned with the whole Cabinet in June 1944.

76. Mahmud, Shaikh

Of the family of Barzinja Sayyidiya. He has inherited from his father and grandfather great tribal and religious influence throughout Southern Kurdistan. He was made Hukumdar of Suleimani in 1918, shortly after the British occupation. In June 1919 he revolted against British authority, was wounded

and deported to Henjam Island in the Persian Gulf. He was reinstated as Hukumdar of Suleimani in 1922, after the Turks had forced the British political officers there to withdraw. In 1923 armed action had to be taken against him to check his endeavours to establish his influence in the Kirkuk and Arbil Provinces. Suleimani was reconquered in 1924, but Shaikh Mahmud was not brought to terms until 1927. These were that he was to abstain from politics and live outside Iraq in one of his Persian villages close to the border. He chose Piran and stayed there quietly until 1930, when an outbreak of Kurdish Nationalist feeling in Suleimani again tempted him into the political arena. Air and ground forces had again to be sent against him, and on the 31st May he surrendered at Panjwin. He was granted an allowance and sent to live at Hilla. From there he was later removed to Ramadi, and in the summer of 1933 he was permitted to take a house in Baghdad. He receives an allowance of 900 rupees a month from the Iraqi Government. He has three sons, Rauf, Baba Ali and Latif. Rauf is quiet and industrious and is a student in the Law College. Elected Deputy for Suleimani in December 1938 and again in June 1939. Baba Ali, after completing his secondary schooling at Victoria College in Alexandria, was sent to Columbia University, New York, to study political economy. On his return in 1938 he was given employment in the railways. Latif is the pet of his father, and will follow closely in his footsteps, if he has the chance to do so.

His properties in Suleimani were confiscated in 1931, but restored by special Act of Parliament in December 1938.

Towards the end of May 1941, during Rashid Ali's rebellion, Shaikh Mahmud escaped from Baghdad, and in company with Abbas-i-Salim, brother of Babekr Agha (q.v.) he raised a tribal force to attack Suleimani with the object of ejecting Rashid Ali's officials. Before their plans could materialise, however, Rashid Ali's rebellion collapsed and most of the chieftains returned home. Shaikh Mahmud himself endeavoured to exploit the occasion to obtain concessions to the Kurds, but he was persuaded in the end to disperse his followers and to settle down in Darikalla, one of his villages in Barzani. His youngest and favourite son, Latif, is restless and unreliable, and a source of anxiety to the Mutasarrif of Suleimania.

77. Mahmut-bin-Hadhdhal, Shaikh

Chief of the Amarat, Anaiza (Arab) tribe of Iraq. He succeeded his father in 1927. Born about 1890. Intensely proud, but wiser than he appears to be. He has endeavoured to maintain good relations with the Iraqi Government, though the Nationalist element in Baghdad regard him with some suspicion on account of his father's close friendship with the British. His tribal area is from the Euphrates southwards to the Nejd border.

He obtained a good contract for the supply of labour on the Haifa-Baghdad road in 1940. During Rashid Ali's rebellion in May 1941 he lost control of his tribe, parties of which attacked and looted some of the road camps.

His estate at Razza, near Karbala, has been expropriated for the Abu Dhibis reservoir and Mahmut has experienced great difficulty in obtaining compensation from the Government.

He is now (1947) trying to get the pre-1941 division of labour and guards on the pipe-line restored. This division divided these lucrative services between the Abaza and the Dulaim tribes on a geographical basis.

78. Majid Mustafa

A Kurd of Suleimani, born about 1894. During the war of 1914-18 he was an officer in the Turkish

army, and for some time after the Armistice of Mudros held pro-Turkish views. He was an active supporter of Shaikh Mahmud 1924-26. When Shaikh Mahmud submitted to the Government Majid was made a Mudir in the Kut liwa. His administrative ability was soon apparent. In 1928 he became Qatmaqun of Nasiriyah, and in 1935 he was promoted to be Mutasarrif. Two years later he was posted to Amara where he remained until 1941.

His attitude in the Rashid Ali disturbances of 1941 was equivocal, but he seems on the whole to have favoured Rashid Ali's cause rather than that of the Regent. Rashid Ali did not, however, trust him and brought him in to the capital so that he could be watched. After the Regent's return to Baghdad at the beginning of June 1941 Majid took leave in Turkey.

He returned in September and was then suspended for four years on account of his compliance with the orders of the Rashid Ali régime.

Nevertheless, in December 1943 he joined Nuri Pasha's Cabinet as Minister without Portfolio, with the special task of finding some means to stop the fighting with Mulla Mustafa in the Barzan area and of redressing Kurdish grievances. The Regent disliked his appointment and only reluctantly agreed to it.

Majid succeeded in bringing about a peaceful settlement with Mulla Mustafa in January 1944 and remained in the Cabinet, without Portfolio, but charged specially with advising the Government on Kurdish affairs.

Resigned with the whole of Nuri Said's Cabinet in June 1944.

Has gone into business but has not abandoned politics. Made a vigorous and impressive speech on Kurdish needs in the Chamber in January 1945. By the Kurds he is not trusted as they consider he is only interested in the fruits of power. Has been careful to advertise on the surface his dissociation from events in Barzan.

Not a member of the 1947 Chamber, he is concentrating on business, he has business connexions with the war millionaire Shibly Bishara of Transjordan.

79. Mar Shimun

Eshai, Mar Shimun. Patriarch of the Assyrians (Catholicoi of the Church in the East).

Born about 1900. Succeeded to the patriarchate in 1920 when a child. Educated in England at a seminary in Canterbury. Since coming of age and assuming the authority of his position, Mar Shimun has actively fostered discontent among the Assyrians. Whatever his position as the head of a spiritual community, his temporal authority is not acknowledged by a large number of Assyrians, estimated at a maximum at 12,000. His aim has been to establish the whole community in a compact enclave under his own spiritual and temporal authority. He was the inspirer of the mutiny of the levies in 1932 and of the exodus to Syria in 1933. Deported by the Iraqi Government in the summer of 1933, he was given an asylum in Cyprus, where his father David and his aunt Surina joined him. In October 1933 he went to Geneva to protest to the League of Nations against the massacre of Assyrians which followed the Assyrian attack on the Iraqi army at Dairabon (Fushkhabor) in August 1933, and in November went to England to obtain support from friends and sympathisers there. On his deportation King Feisal granted him and his family a provisional allowance of £780 a year, subject to his correct behaviour. This allowance was stopped by King Ghazi in the summer of 1934 on account of the propaganda which Mar Shimun persistently carried on against Iraq.

While paying lip-service to the League of Nations and always ready to petition that body on behalf of

the Assyrians, he has proved disloyal to its decisions whenever they have conflicted with his personal ambition. By preferring temporal power to spiritual leadership, he has been the means of inflicting much needless suffering on a deserving people. During the year 1934 he was mostly in England, paying several visits to Geneva when Assyrian affairs were under discussion. He remained in Europe throughout 1935 and 1936, spending much time in London.

In 1939 he was granted British naturalisation and went to live in Cyprus.

Since 1940 he has been living in the United States.

His 1946 Christmas message to his flock, though innocuous enough, caused the suspicions of the Iraqi Government.

80. Maulud Mukhlis

Sunni. Born about 1875. A fine soldier, he behaved with great gallantry with the Sharifian army and was badly wounded. His exploits do not lose in the telling. Served in Syria and was sent in 1920 to Dair, where the agreement between the British Government of Occupation and the Arab Government was reached under his auspices in April. A hot Nationalist, he continued to spread anti-British propaganda among the tribes until he was recalled by King Feisal in June. Remained in Syria after the fall of the Arab Government and returned to Baghdad in July 1921. He lost no time in joining the extreme Nationalist group. There was no post to offer him in the Iraqi army, but he was given some land near Tikrit and settled down to cultivate it, with occasional visits to Baghdad and Mosul to take part in Nationalist activities. In May 1923 he was appointed Mutasarrif of Karbala, to deal with the Ubama. He is no administrator, but he kept things quiet at the time of the exodus of the *mujtahida*. An impulsive man, who allows his pan-Arab sentiment to rule his actions. He was bitterly hostile to the Cabinet formed by Hikmat Sulaiman in October 1937 after Bakr Sidqi's coup d'état and openly condemned the murder of Jafar Pasha. In February 1937 an attempt was made to assassinate him and three of Bakr Sidqi's aides-de-camp were suspected. Maulud then went to live in Syria, but returned soon after Bakr Sidqi's murder in August 1937. Has been a Senator since 1925.

He was elected president of the Chamber in December 1937.

Attended the Arab Parliamentary Conference on Palestine arranged by Alubba Pasha in Cairo in the summer of 1938.

Re-elected president of the Chamber November 1938 and again in June and November 1939. Was not re-elected in November 1941.

In recent years his drunkenness has increased and discredited him.

81. Muaffaq-al-Ahousi

Born about 1894. Belongs to a learned family of Baghdad. He is a graduate of the Sorbonne whence he returned to Baghdad in 1926. Was appointed a professor in the law school and afterwards in 1928 Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Two years later he quarrelled with the Minister, Abdullah Damluji, and withdrew to Beirut. In 1931 he accompanied Nuri Pasha to Mecca to negotiate the Iraq-Nejd "Bon-Voisinage" Agreement. In the autumn of 1932 he went again to Mecca, this time to take up a post as judicial adviser to King Abdul Azziz-al-Saud. He remained in Arabia for about a year and then returned to Baghdad. In May 1934 he was appointed first secretary in the Iraqi Legation in Tehran. Transferred to be consul at Beirut in May 1935. Appointed consul-general at Bombay December 1936. Dismissed from the Foreign Service in November 1937.

Remained in Syria until January 1939 when he returned to Iraq. Returned to the Foreign Service in February 1939 and posted to Paris as chargé d'affaires. Transferred to be consul-general at Damascus June 1939.

Transferred to Istanbul as consul-general in July 1941. Recalled in November. A heavy drinker, with unsavoury habits, he is not a good consular officer and is suspected of pro-Nazi sympathies.

He was dismissed in April 1943 for insubordination and in the early summer was seeking official employment in Saudi Arabia. In 1944 he was living in Turkey on an allowance supplied to him by Ibn Saud.

Legal Adviser to King Ibn Saud in 1949. Reported to have been sent by the King to work in Syria against Iraqi-Syrian union in the autumn of 1949.

82. Mudhaffar Ahmed, O.B.E.

Born Hillah, 1895. Sunni Muslim. Married. His wife (who appears in public) is of the Partow family and a sister of the wives of Ibrahim Kemal and Taha Askeri, to which family, and to that of Nuri al-Said, he is related through his mother.

Educated in Baghdad he served in the Turkish army as an officer. He was among the first direct officer-appointments to the police after the formation of the National Government having been Gazetted Assistant Commandant on 16th December, 1921. He received his initial training under various British officers and by the mid-1920s had established a good reputation in the Diwaniyah Liwa. He was promoted commandant in 1932 and was one of a group of officers sent for training in the Birmingham City Police School. After completing this course he returned to Baghdad and was appointed Principal of the Inspectors' Training School, which post he held for some years. Thereafter he became Director, Passport, Residence and Nationality Department, Director, C.I.D., and held other posts on the headquarters staff. After the 1941 rebellion, working under the orders of Saiyid Ahmed Al-Rawi, as Director, C.I.D., he was most energetic in clearing up the chaos remaining after the collapse of the Rashid Ali régime. He hunted out and deported foreign Arab "Nazis," and was equally active in regard to Iraqis of the same type. In September 1941 he was appointed Director-General of Civil Defence which post he retained until appointed Mutasarrif, Basrah, on 12th August, 1944. Here he distinguished himself by his cordial co-operation with the British forces, but he was equally popular with all shades of Iraqi opinion and classes. Since then he has served for a short while as Mutasarrif, Mosul Liwa, and in October 1946 became Mutasarrif, Baghdad Liwa.

Mudhaffar Ahmed has matured slowly. In his younger days he did not show outstanding promise, although he always was looked upon as being steady and reliable. Always keen on sport, he was a keen "soccer," polo and tennis player and did much to foster keenness for the first and third (polo had always been played) in the police, and later in the Royal Olympic Club, Baghdad. He has developed into a sound steady public servant and in the normal course of events, being still under fifty, should go far in the service.

Awarded the O.B.E. for war services, 1946.

An attractive personality. He speaks excellent English and some French, as does his agreeable wife.

He was allotted some of the blame for police action against the demonstrations of January 1948 and was made an administrative inspector on 12th March.

Appointed Mayor of Baghdad, September 1949.

83. Muhammad Ali Mahmud

Sunni. Born 1895. A lawyer who has served in many posts under the Ministry of Justice, including

that of Director-General of the Ministry, Director-General of Tapu and judge of the Court of Appeal. Elected to the Chamber as Deputy for Baghdad in 1935 and for Arbil in 1936. Has twice been elected Vice-President of the Chamber and held the post of chairman of the Finance Committee in 1937. Appointed Minister of Finance in Hikmat Sulaiman's reformed Cabinet in June 1937. He resigned in August 1937 with the whole Cabinet.

Elected Deputy for Arbil December 1937 but lost his seat in June 1939.

Appointed Minister of Communications and Works in the Cabinet formed by Rashid Ali in April 1941. On the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebellion at the end of May 1941, he fled to Persia and was handed over by the Persian Government to the British military authorities in September 1941. Imprisoned at Ahwaz and subsequently sent to Southern Rhodesia to be interned. Sent back for trial in March 1944.

Sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Released in July 1947.

His daughter is married to Ziyad, a younger son of the late Ja'far Pasha al-Askari. A founder member of Nuri Pasha's Constitutional Unity Party formed in November 1949.

84. Muhammad Amin Zaki

A Kurd of Sulaimani. Born 1880. Well educated and speaks French, German and English. Formerly staff officer in Turkish army. Was made Minister for Communications and Works in November 1926, and subsequently held the portfolios of Education and Defence. Exerted little influence in the Cabinets in which he has held office. His policy is to try to please the Kurds by supporting Kurdish Nationalists without compromising his position with the Arabs. Lost his seat in the Chamber in the general election of 1930. Again Minister for Economics and Communications July 1931. Resigned October 1932. Appointed Director-General of Economics and Communications March 1933, but became unemployed when this post was abolished in September 1934. Became Minister for Economics and Communications in March 1935 in Yasin Pasha's Cabinet. Resigned when the Cabinet fell in October 1936.

Elected Deputy for Sulaimani in December 1937 and again in June 1939. Became Minister for Economics in March 1940 in Rashid Ali's third Cabinet.

Resigned in July 1940 on account of severe illness.

Appointed Minister of Communications and Works in the Cabinet formed by Nuri al-Said in October 1941. Resigned in February 1942 on account of ill-health. Made a Senator December 1943.

85. Muhammad Hassan Kubba

Shi'ah of Baghdad. Born 1891. Belongs to the old family of Kubba. In 1920 was associated with the Nationalist activities of Ja'far Chalabi Abu Timman. In 1923 he entered the service of the Ministry of Justice. Served as a judge in many parts of the country and also held posts in the Ministry. In December 1943 he joined the Cabinet as Minister for Social Affairs under Nuri Said. Retained this position in the Cabinet of Hamdi al-Pachachi which followed Nuri's resignation in June 1944, but became President of the Chamber of Deputies on the resignation of Muhammad Ridha-al-Shabibi in December 1944.

Joined the Al-Umari Cabinet in June 1946 as Minister of Justice. The Prime Minister's interference with the Courts however soon caused him uneasiness and he wanted to resign in August, only remaining in office at the Regent's request. Senator 2nd July, 1947.

Vice-President of the Senate December 1947.

Minister of Justice in the Pachachi Cabinet June 1948 and in the succeeding Government of Nuri Pasha.

86. Muhammad Hussein el Hadid

Born Mosul 1906. Sunni Muslim. Merchant. Muhammad el Hadid was educated at Mosul Mutawassit School until 1924, when he went to Beirut. He returned from Beirut in 1928 and almost immediately went to England to continue his education at the London School of Economics. After returning to Iraq in 1931 he was appointed to a post in the Ministry of Finance which he held until 1937, when he was elected as a Deputy for Mosul. He then went into business with Kamil el Khedairi, Muhammad Ja'far Abu Timman and others and formed the "El-Skerikat el-Ziyat Wal-Nahitiyah" and engaged in a considerable export trade. He is still (1946) a partner in that company. His father, Haji Hussein, is reputed to be one of the wealthiest men in Mosul, while Muhammad el Hadid himself has married the daughter of the man who, by common talk, is probably the richest in the Liwa, if not in the whole of Iraq.

Through his friendship with Kamil el-Chadarelli, and possibly through contacts while in England, he became interested at an early date in the "Progressive" Movement and was one of the signatories to the application for the founding of the Hizb el-Watani el-Democrati, of which he is the vice-president.

He has made many heated speeches attacking "colonisation" and professing to support "Progress," all with a strong anti-British bias, but it is stated that he has always opposed violence and was against the general strike of July 1946. He has many British friends, to whom his frankness appeals. His son is being educated at Victoria College.

Is generally looked upon as being a pleasant, shrewd man. In September 1946 he wrote an article on Iraq in the *New Statesman and Nation* which attacked the Umari régime, as a result of which the paper was excluded from Iraq.

He was defeated in the 1947 elections, owing to Government pressure, but he appears less embittered than others who underwent the same experience. Unconfirmed reports state that he is not unconnected with the Russian Legation.

Went to India on a business trip in March 1948 but returned in time to win a seat for Mosul in the 1948 elections.

87. Muhammad Husain Kashif-al-Ghata (Saiyid)

Shi'ah Alim of Najaf. One of the few Arab Divines of importance.

Attended the Moslem Conference at Jerusalem in 1931 as Iraqi delegate. Visited Persia on a prolonged tour in the summer of 1933, and returned to Iraq in February 1934. In the spring of 1935 he took a prominent part in the tribal insurrections on the Euphrates, and gave his full support to the tribes which took up arms against Yasin Pasha's Government. He hoped to persuade them to make a united front with the Ulama in an attempt to force on the Government a series of sectarian demands intended to secure for the Shi'ah community a greater share in the government of the country. He was only partially successful and, after the defeat of the tribes by the army, he wisely withdrew to silence in the shrines of Najaf.

Declared a jihad for Palestine in the summer of 1938.

In 1939 it was suspected that he had accepted money from the German Legation to foster anti-British feeling.

Issued a fatwa against the British during Rashid Ali's rebellion in May 1941. His nephew, Ahmad

Kashif-al-Ghata, actively supported Rashid Ali and was interned in August 1941 at Fao, but was released in August 1944.

88. Muhammad Mehdi Kubba

Born about 1900 of the well-known Baghdad Shi'ah family of Kubba, he was educated in the religious seminary at Ne'ef in grammar, Persian and theology.

After the first world war he engaged in quite a humble way in the textile trade in common with other members of his family. He never held Government office of any kind until 1948, although he was once a Deputy for Baghdad in 1937.

He was a member of the Nationalist Muthanna Club from its foundation and was helped into politics by a fellow member Dr. Jamadi (q.v.). He developed his pro-Axis sympathies during a visit to Germany in the late '30's but took no active part in the Rashid Ali movement.

Was made president of the Istiqlal Party on its formation in 1945, probably owing to his Shi'ah origin and well-known name. His claims to the presidency of the party are not strong and his voice in its councils is less effective than those of Faiq Samarrai and Siddiq Shamsal.

Minister of Supply in the Sadr Cabinet of January 1948, he resigned in June over the conduct of the elections.

An untidy-looking man, with a reputation for honesty. He is not very intelligent and only speaks Arabic and Persian.

89. Muhammad Ridha-al-Shabibi

Shi'ah of Baghdad, born about 1880. Belongs to a well-known family. Member of Constituent Assembly and Minister for Education in Yasin Pasha's Cabinet in 1924. Again given the portfolio of Education in the Cabinet formed by Yasin Pasha in March 1935. His reactionary views soon brought him into conflict with his colleagues and with the chief permanent officials of his Ministry, and he resigned in September 1935. He became President of the Senate, February 1937, and was reappointed Minister for Education in Jamil-al-Madfa'i's Cabinet in August 1937. He is president of the Baghdad branch of the Pen Club and has a considerable reputation as a man of letters. Resigned with Jamil-al-Madfa'i in December 1938.

Appointed Minister of Education in the Cabinet formed by Jamil-al-Madfa'i in June 1941. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in October 1941.

Appointed to the Board of Education created in April 1949.

Elected President of the Chamber of Deputies in December 1943 and again in December 1944, but resigned almost immediately.

A genial old bigot determined to have nothing to do with anything modern. Speaks no English.

Took a leading part in debates of Parliament during spring session 1947, criticising the Government and getting in some shrewd blows at the British.

Minister of Education in the Sadr Cabinet of January 1948 and resigned with the Cabinet in June 1948.

90. Muhammad Salih-al-Qazzaz

Baghdad mechanic. Born about 1898. At one time came into prominence as a labour leader and agitator. A professional demagogue, he used to thrust himself in the van of any bazaar troubles, and was especially conspicuous in encouraging discontent among the labour employed by the foreign companies operating in Iraq. Played a leading part in organising the boycott of the Baghdad Electric Light Company in the autumn and winter of 1939.

During the premiership of Yasin-al-Hashimi he was not allowed to agitate, but when Hikmat Sulaiman came into office in October 1936 Muhammad Salih became the treasurer of the Popular Reform League which was organised by Kasul Chadiri with a left-wing programme. His activities became so tiresome that in February 1937 he was sent to live in Ramadi, where he remained until December 1937, when he was released. Little has since been heard of him.

91. Muhammad-al-Sadr (Saiyid)

Born about 1885. An influential Shiah divine of Kadhissia. Was a violent Nationalist in the early days of the British occupation and played a prominent part in the insurrection of 1920. He fled to Syria when the insurrection was put down, but returned with the Amir Faisal in June 1921. Took an active part in the anti-mandate controversy of 1922, but after the proclamation of the Constitution in 1924 greatly modified his views. Appointed a senator in 1925, and elected President of the Senate in 1929. He has subsequently been re-elected to this position at each new session until February 1937, when Hidayat-Shahibi was elected instead. He was re-elected President of the Senate in December 1937 and again in December 1938, June 1939 and November 1939.

Re-elected President of the Senate in November 1941 and November 1942. A dignified and picturesque personality with an acute and sometimes embarrassing idea of his own importance. Ceased to be President of the Senate in December 1943 on the election of Jamil-al-Madfa'i.

An overpowering figure familiarly known as "Qud" from his resemblance to Byzantine representations of a bearded deity.

Appointed a member of the Council of Regency during the Regent's absence in the summer of 1947.

He formed a Government after the disturbances of January 1948 which brought down Salah Jahi and secured the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty. His Cabinet contained no less than three former Prime Ministers but was one of the weakest in the history of Iraq and signally failed to bring the country back to normal. For several months Baghdad was the scene of almost daily demonstrations. These were made easy for the organisers by the shortage of bread and the collapse of police morale. Government authority throughout the country was flouted with impunity. It was only the introduction of martial law on the entry of the Arab armies into Palestine which restored order to the streets and enabled Muhammad to carry out the elections and to resign.

92. Muhammad Salih al Radhi

Born Bagdad 1899. Muslim. Public servant and landowner.

Educated in Bagdad primary and secondary schools, he graduated from the American University, Beirut, and later went to the United States, where he studied at Texas and California Universities, from which he took doctorates in Agriculture and Science. He returned to Iraq in 1926 and joined the Department of Agriculture, in which he has continued until he became the Director-General, which post he has held for several years.

A quiet, capable man, with many friends in all communities. He has shown no pronounced political tendencies or attachments and this, perhaps, explains his undisturbed service as Director-General of a Department. However, owing to the fact that he is connected to the wealthy Shabandar family—Ibrahim al Shabandar being his cousin—and that he himself is a considerable landowner, it is unlikely that he holds any "advanced" views, in spite of his associations in the United States.

He was made Director-General of Labour in the Ministry of Social Affairs in November 1946 and appointed minister at Tehran in June 1947.

He and his attractive wife speak excellent English.

Transferred to Delhi in the summer of 1949.

93. Mulla Mustafa

Born about 1898. Brother of Ahmad of Barzan (q.v.). Was the fighting leader of the Barzans in the troubles of 1931-32. He surrendered with Shaikh Ahmad and was banished to Sulaimani. There he lived for ten years in poverty on a small allowance from the Government. In the autumn of 1943 he bolted back to Barzan and a few months later became involved in skirmishes with the police. The fighting gradually developed, and Mulla Mustafa successfully resisted the considerable forces of police and Iraqi troops sent against him.

In the beginning he was concerned only with his own position, but later on he began to put forward political demands and to pose as a champion of Kurdish nationalism. He won a good deal of Kurdish sympathy and support. In January 1944 a settlement was arranged whereby he was promised a pardon after paying a formal visit to Bagdad to make submission to the Regent. Thereafter he returned to Barzan, but he remains restless and untamed, and the Government have not yet been able to re-establish control over the Barzani tribal area. Was formally pardoned in April 1945 by the Barzan Amnesty Law, and the Government embarked on a programme of improving security and of developing agriculture in his area. However, he became impatient in the summer and took up arms against the Government again in August 1945.

He was eventually defeated, more by the agility of the Minister of the Interior in distributing gold than that of the army in occupying his country. He fled with his brother to Persia, whence photographs of him have since found their way back to Iraq showing him as General Mulla Mustafa in a uniform strangely reminiscent of that worn by Generalissimo Stalin.

Recently his fortunes seem to have declined and many of his followers have returned to Iraq.

After the collapse of the Kurdish independence movement led by Qazi Muhammad, he was forced to return to Iraq retiring before the Persian forces. His brother Shaikh Ahmad surrendered with his forces to the Iraqi authorities. Mulla Mustafa with about 500 men attempted to come to terms with Iraqi Government, who demanded unconditional surrender. The Mulla thereupon returned to Persia via Turkey and made his way through Azerbaijan to Soviet territory where he and his men surrendered to the Russian authorities.

He is still in clandestine communication with his relatives and supporters in Iraq and the possibility of his return with Russian arms and assistance is a nightmare to the Iraqi authorities.

94. Musa Shabandar

Bagdadi Sunni, born 1899. Elder son of Mahmud Shabandar, a wealthy land and property owner of Bagdad.

Went to Berlin soon after the armistice, and lived in Europe, mostly in Zurich and Berlin, until the autumn of 1932, when he returned to Bagdad.

In January 1933 he was appointed secretary of the permanent Iraqi delegation at the League of Nations.

Speaks English, French and German. Appointed first secretary to the Iraqi Legation in Berlin in October 1935.

Early in 1937 he was accused of giving certificates of export to Iraq for munitions destined for Spain and recalled to Bagdad, where he was placed under arrest. In December proceedings against him were

dropped and it seems doubtful whether there was ever any real evidence against him. Elected Deputy for Amarah, December 1937.

Lost his seat in June 1939. Reappointed to the Diplomatic Service in June 1939 and sent as chargé d'affaires to Berlin. Returned to Bagdad October 1939, and was appointed Assistant Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the unconstitutional Cabinet formed by Rashid Ali in April 1941. On the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebellion in May 1941, he fled to Persia and was handed over to the British military authorities in September 1941. Imprisoned at Ahwaz and thence sent to Southern Rhodesia for internment. Sent back to stand his trial with internees in March 1944. Sentence was finally passed on him, in August 1944, of five years hard labour and sequestration of all his property. Now an invalid.

He returned to Iraq in December 1947, and began to rehabilitate himself socially and politically. In November 1949 he became a founder member of Nuri's Constitutional Party and was appointed Minister in Damascus.

95. Muzahim-al-Amin Pachachi

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1888, a lawyer. Elected Deputy for Hillah in the Constituent Assembly, March 1924, and sat in the first Chamber in 1925. Minister of Communications and Works in the Hashimi Cabinet, August 1924. In 1927, while in London, he made a close study of British politics. Recalled to Bagdad in February 1928 and joined the active Nationalists. His ideas seemed to be tinged with communism. Was prominent in anti-Zionist manifestations in summer of 1929. Became Minister of Economics and Communications in January 1931, and, shortly after, Minister of the Interior, in which post he unexpectedly gave satisfaction to his British advisers. Resigned in October 1931 on account of a difference with his colleagues regarding his dismissal of the Amin-al-Asimah. Towards the end of May 1932 he was charged with complicity in the circulation of scurrilous anonymous letters, making allegations against the personal honour of the King. Resigned his seat in the Chamber and was committed for trial with four others by Bagdad magistrate's court. Acquitted in October 1932. In October 1934 he was appointed Minister at Rome and permanent delegate at Geneva. In November 1935 he was relieved of his duties at Geneva. Appointed Minister at Paris in July 1939.

Remained in France as Minister to the Vichy Government after the collapse of France in 1940. Recalled in November 1941, when Iraq severed relations with the Vichy Government, but did not return to Iraq. In 1943 he appeared to be living in Rome. Later he went to Geneva and sought but was refused facilities to return to Iraq.

Eventually returned in November 1945.

He was asked to form a Government somewhat unexpectedly in June 1948 after the completion of the elections and the resignation of the Sadr Cabinet. He succeeded in putting together a moderately capable team but complained of Royal interference in his freedom of choice. He was immediately caught up in the Palestine crisis. He has taken an intransigent line on this question, at any rate partly for internal political reasons. He has had little leisure for internal affairs.

He is very deaf, but speaks good English.

Resigned in January 1949.

96. Mustafa-al-Umari

Sunni of the Umri family of Mosul. Born 1898. Graduated in Law School in Bagdad just before the war. Served as an officer in the Turkish forces fighting in Mesopotamia during the war and was

made a prisoner just before the fall of Bagdad. Returned to Iraq after the armistice and entered Government service. Since then he has served in the Waqi Department and in the Ministries of Finance and Interior. His posts included the following: kaimakan in several districts, Accountant General, Director-General of the Ministry of the Interior and wazir-sarif in a number of liwas. In 1935 he was appointed Mutessarif of the Mustafiq liwa and in June 1937 he joined Hikmat Sulaiman's Cabinet as Minister of the Interior. He retained this portfolio in the Cabinet formed by Jamil Madfa'i in August 1937.

During the first half of 1938 he acquired a reputation for taking large bribes, and, though no allegations were proved, the Prime Minister thought it well to transfer him to another Ministry. He accordingly went to Justice in October 1938. In December 1938 he resigned with the whole of Jamil-al-Madfa'i's Cabinet after the military demonstration organised by Husain Fawzi and Taha-al-Hashimi in favour of Nuri-al-Said. He is a Senator.

Appointed Minister of Interior in the Cabinet formed by Jamil-al-Madfa'i in June 1941. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in October 1941. Since then he has been a prominent speaker in the debates of the Senate, and has been a constant critic of Nuri Said's Administration. Became Minister of the Interior in the Cabinet of Hamdi-al-Pachachi formed in June 1944.

He has the reputation of being corrupt, but he is certainly an able administrator and has as comprehensive a knowledge of the north as anyone. He put this to good use during the Barzani troubles of 1945, when his well-directed bribery made possible the victory of the Iraqi army.

Minister of Economics in the Sadr Cabinet of 1948 and Acting Minister of Interior for the last part of the life of the Cabinet. His conduct of the 1948 elections were the object of criticism from press and public and more than one of his Cabinet colleagues threatened to resign on this account. He became Minister of Interior in the immediately succeeding Cabinet of Muzahim Pachachi, who has said that this appointment was forced on him by the Palace.

Went to England for an operation in the autumn of 1948 and resigned from the Cabinet in November of that year. Since his return to Iraq he has taken little part in politics.

97. Dr. Nadim bin Shakir al Pachachi

Born Bagdad 1914. Muslim, Sunni; nephew of Hamdi al Pachachi, late Prime Minister, and of Muzahim al Pachachi, late Iraqi Minister in Paris (q.v.).

Educated at Bagdad and London School of Economics. Returned to Bagdad in 1938 on completing his studies and was appointed to the Ministry of Economics, of which he is now Director-General. He has a civil service outlook and has never figured in politics.

Went with the Iraqi delegation to the General Assembly of U.N.O. in London, where he took the opportunity of searching for British experts to advise his Ministry in certain matters (e.g., co-operative farming) in which he is anxious to see reform and progress—less perhaps from a disinterested love of the working classes than because he believes that to raise their standard of living is the best defence against discontent and communism.

Speaks excellent English.

He had already left Bagdad as a member of the Iraqi delegation to the Sterling Balance talks in London in June 1947 when he was recalled from Cairo. No reason was given officially but some connected his recall with his recent divorce of his wife.

and marriage with a cabaret artiste. His position as Director-General of Economics remains outwardly unaffected but his conduct has done him no good.

98. Dr. Naji-al-Asil

Bagdadi, born 1893. First became prominent in 1922 as semi-official Hashimite representative in London. Continued to represent Hashimite interests in London until final conquest of the Hejaz by Ibn Saud. Dr. Naji then became destitute in England, and was deported to Iraq in October 1925. In Iraq he was soon employed under the Ministry of Defence in the Iraqi Military Medical Service. Appointed Iraqi Consul-General and Chargé d'Affaires in Jeddah in August 1931. Returned to Bagdad in June 1932 to be present during the visit of the Amir Faisal, son of King Abdul Aziz-al-Saud. Appointed consul, Mohammurah, October 1932. Acting Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, April 1933. Appointed counsellor in the Legation at Tehran, April 1935.

In June 1936, while on leave in Bagdad, he was appointed Minister of Ceremonies at the palace, and accepted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs when Hikmat Sulaiman formed his Cabinet in October 1936. Resigned with Hikmat Sulaiman in August 1937, and was not included in the Cabinet formed by Jamil-al-Madfa'i.

Appointed Director-General of Antiquities in 1944.

A pleasant man of considerable intelligence who speaks excellent English. He is violently anti-Zionist.

He worked very well with the Adviser to the Antiquities Department, but has lately been in personal financial difficulties which have had an adverse effect on his work. There are few of the leading politicians with whom he is on really friendly terms and this too obstructs him.

Appointed permanent Iraqi delegate to U.N.O. by the Sadr Cabinet early in 1948. Recalled by the Muzahim Cabinet in July of the same year and returned to the Antiquities Department.

99. Naji Shaukat

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1891. Studied in Constantinople and became a reserve officer. Joined the Sharif and was at Aqabah with Colonel Lawrence, for whom he has a great admiration. Returned to Bagdad in 1919. Early in 1921 he was given an appointment under the Mutassarif of Bagdad, and subsequently became mutassarif. He showed considerable administrative ability and maintained cordial relations with his British advisers. He was appointed Mutassarif of Kut in October 1922, of Hillah in 1923, and of Bagdad in 1924. Minister for Interior, June 1928, Minister for Justice, September 1929, and reverted to Interior in the changes which followed Abdul Mushin's suicide. Appointed Iraqi Minister at Angora in September 1930. Recalled to Bagdad in October 1931 to take up portfolio of Interior. Became Prime Minister in November 1932. Received the Order of Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy in January 1933. Resigned premiership March 1933. Minister for the Interior in November 1933, resigned February 1934. Again appointed Minister at Angora April 1934. He accompanied Tausiq Rustu Aras, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, on his official visit to Bagdad in the summer of 1937, and was then offered a Cabinet post in Hikmat Sulaiman's Government. He declined because of his objection to Bahr Sidqi's influence.

Became Minister of the Interior in the Cabinet formed by Nuri-al-Said in December 1933, but resigned in April 1939. Deputy for Bagdad in the elections of June 1939.

Became Minister for Justice in Rashid Ali's Cabinet in March 1940.

After the collapse of France, he became a strong advocate of reinsurance with the Axis. With Rashid Ali's approval he went to Istanbul in September 1940 to establish contact with the German Ambassador, Herr von Papen. It was perhaps more than a coincidence that just before his return to Iraq, towards the end of October 1940, the local Arabic press published the official Axis declaration of sympathy with Arab aspirations, and that just after his return the resumption of direct telegraphic communication between Iraq and Germany and Italy was announced. He resigned in January 1941, but was appointed Minister of Defence in the unconstitutional Cabinet formed by Rashid Ali in April 1941. During Rashid Ali's rebellion in May 1941 he went to Turkey to try and enlist Turkish support for Rashid Ali's cause. After the collapse of the rebellion he remained in Turkey. He was tried *in absentia* by court martial and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment.

In 1942 he found his way to Europe and moved between Berlin and Rome, receiving a Minister's salary from the Reich Government. In 1943 it seemed that he had taken up his residence in Rome, where he was in touch with the ex-Mufti of Palestine. In the summer of 1945 he was arrested in Italy, sent back to Iraq and imprisoned.

Pardoned by the Regent in May 1948.

100. Nadhif Shawi

Born Bagdad about 1890. Educated in Military College, Constantinople, and the Turkish Staff College. Served in Turkish army until the end of the war 1914-18. He joined King Faisal's army in Syria and fought at Maysalun, where Faisal was defeated by the French. He then returned to Bagdad and for some years was employed as a teacher in the secondary schools. During this period he graduated at the Bagdad Law College. He later returned to the army and was given rank as a senior captain. In 1935 he attended army manoeuvres in England. On his return he was made Commandant of the Iraqi Staff College. After two years in this post he was promoted brigadier and appointed Assistant Chief of General Staff. He was placed on pension in 1939 and became Minister of Defence in the Cabinet formed by Jamil Madfa'i in June 1941 after the flight of Rashid Ali to Persia. He made a pleasant if colourless Minister and resigned with the whole Cabinet in early October 1941.

101. Najib-al-Rawi

Born about 1896. Sunni of Bagdad. Brother of Ahmad-al-Rawi. Married to a sister of Mme. Hikmat Sulaiman. Has for many years practised successfully as a lawyer and in 1942 was elected president of the Law Society. In 1940 he was suspected of being in too close intimacy with the ex-Mufti of Palestine (then a fugitive in Iraq) and with the Italian Minister. He was careful, however, to avoid becoming involved in Rashid Ali's *coup d'Etat* in 1941.

Sleek and *mandarin*, he is a prominent figure in upper class social life in Bagdad. Elected a Deputy in October 1943. He represented Iraq at the Arab Lawyers' Conference at Damascus in August 1944.

He has performed useful services for us, but it is difficult to say how trustworthy he is. He and his wife speak good English. She is a sister of Mme. Hikmat Sulaiman (q.v.).

Minister of Education in Suwaidi Cabinet of 1946. Returned to presidency of Lawyers' Association as soon as the former president had become Minister for Social Affairs in the next Government but one.

Minister of Justice in the Sadr Cabinet (January 1949) and Minister of Education in the Pachachi Cabinet (June 1948) and in the Nuri Pasha Cabinet.

(January 1949). He represented Iraq, not very successfully, at the Paris session of U.N.O. in September 1948.

102. Nasrit-al-Farisi

Lawyer of Bagdad, born about 1890. In the early days of the Iraqi Government he held somewhat extreme Nationalist views, which he voiced as a Deputy in the Chamber. Was later given an appointment in the Ministry of Justice, where he served diligently for a number of years.

Minister for Finance, November 1932. Resigned with Naji Beg Shaukat in March 1933. Appointed Minister for Finance in Jamil Beg Al Madfa'i's Cabinet in November 1933. Resigned in February 1934. Appointed Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in April 1935. Appointed Iraqi delegate at Geneva in June 1937.

Steady and intelligent, but inclined to be obstructive.

Was relieved of this appointment in the summer of 1938 when it was decided to withdraw the Iraqi delegation from Geneva. He then returned to the Bar.

Appointed Minister of Economics in the Cabinet formed by Jamil-al-Madfa'i in June 1941. Resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in October 1941.

Appointed Iraqi Minister at Angora in April 1943, but did not proceed.

In June 1943 he became Foreign Minister. Resigned in October 1943, as a protest against the Regent's interference in the choice of Government candidates for election to Parliament.

Went to San Francisco in 1945 as a member of the Iraqi delegation. Speaks excellent English, but still takes lessons to keep himself up to date.

In the Parliament of 1947 he has spoken much on financial questions for the Opposition.

He became First Minister without Portfolio then Minister of Interior and finally Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Sadr Cabinet (January to June 1948). The leader of the so-called Constitutional Bloc in the Majlis.

103. Nishat-al-Sanawi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1893. Studied in the School of Law, Constantinople. He was in Bagdad before the occupation, went to Mosul with the Turks, and was employed in various capacities there. Returned after the armistice and took service under the British Administration. Was appointed Director of the Law School when it was reopened in 1919; criminal magistrate, February 1922; judge in the Court of Appeal, March 1923. Amin-al-Asimah, Bagdad 1925-30. Appointed Director-General in the Ministry of the Interior in April 1930, and became Principal of the Law School, February 1931. Reappointed Director-General in the Ministry of the Interior, November 1931. Appointed Administrative Inspector, November 1933. Became Director-General of Municipalities in June 1935.

Appointed Chief Finance Inspector, May 1936. Placed on pension about end of 1938.

104. Nureddin Mahmoud

Born 1889. A Kurd. Commissioned in the Turkish army in 1917. Intelligent, resourceful and ambitious. Director of Military Operations. Graduate of Camberley and Quetta. Good man both in administration and in the field. One of the few Iraqi army officers with modern military knowledge. Has done several courses in England. Command over men is good, and influence on the army high—as witness his behaviour on the flight of Rashid Ali when he took over command of the army and initiated the Anglo-Iraqi armistice. Does not dabble unduly in politics but sympathises with the Allied cause and was heartily against—and worked

against—Rashid Ali. His only strong feeling is apparently for the Kurds, and as long as there is friendship between the Kurds and the British his support can be taken for granted.

Attractive personality. Has been military attaché in London. Was Officer Commanding 2nd Division at Kirkuk and was transferred to Bagdad as Assistant C.G.S. He visited the battle-fields of the Western Desert on the invitation of the Commander-in-chief, Middle East, in May 1943.

Was promoted Amir Liwa in November 1944 and later became Officer Commanding, 2nd Division, in the reorganised Iraqi army.

He is said to enjoy the confidence of the army to an eminent degree.

He commanded the Iraqi Forces in Palestine in the summer of 1948 and was involved in the inter-Arab jealousies which prevented the establishment of an effectively unified Arab High Command.

He now commands the 1st Division at Diwaniyah.

105. Nuri al Qadhi

Born 1889, joined Iraqi Government service in 1921 and has held the following appointments: Vice-President Bagdad Courts 1923, Vice-President Mosul Courts 1927, Director-General of Waqf 1931, Head of Legal Drafting Department, Ministry of Justice, 1936, Secretary-General to the Council of Ministers 1941. Of the old school, he has excellent manners and considerable charm, but he has hitherto played no part in politics and little is known of his character and abilities.

Minister of Education in the al Umari Cabinet of June 1946. Dean of the Law College November 1946.

106. Nuri-al-Said, G.C.V.O., C.M.G., D.S.O.

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1888, son of an accountant of Mosul descent. Educated in Constantinople, speaks Turkish, German, French and English. Served in Balkan War. He was one of the founders of the Ald in 1918 and came from Constantinople to Iraq in order to start branches there. He was in Basra at the time of the occupation as a patient in the American hospital; joined the Arab army in the Hejaz in June 1916, and commanded the troops till the arrival of Jafar Pasha (his brother-in-law); served as C.G.S. till the fall of Damascus. A good strategist very receptive of ideas, clever, hard-working, rash and hot-headed under fire. A modernist with an exceptionally alert intelligence. Was awarded the D.S.O. 1917 and the C.M.G. 1919, and accompanied Faisal in London, Paris and Syria in 1919 and 1920. He always wished for a reasonable rapprochement between the French and the Arabs, and dissuaded King Faisal from offering resistance to the French on the ground that he could not hope for support from the British. When the break came in July 1920 he went with Faisal to England. Returned to Bagdad in February 1921 and took charge of the Ministry of Defence during the absence of Jafar Pasha at the Cairo Conference. On his return he became C.G.S. and Director-General of Police, and held these appointments till October 1922. Acting Minister of Defence from November 1922 to November 1923. Held the same portfolio in Jafar Pasha's Cabinet. Minister of Defence again in November 1926, and retained that portfolio with only short intervals out of office until he became Prime Minister in March 1930. Negotiated and signed the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of June 1930. Visited Jeddah in 1931 to negotiate a "Bon-Voisinage" Treaty with Nejd and the Hejaz. Resigned with the whole Cabinet the 19th October, 1931, but reaccepted office on the same day in a reformed Cabinet. Visited Angora with King Faisal July 1931, and again in December-January 1931-32. During latter

visit he signed with Turkish Government an Extradition Treaty, a Treaty of Commerce and a Residence Convention. Resigned premiership in October 1932. Appointed Minister at Rome, February 1933, but did not proceed. Became Minister for Foreign Affairs in Cabinet of Rashid Ali Ghalib in March 1933. Resigned with Rashid Ali in October 1933 and accepted portfolio of Foreign Affairs and Defence under Jamil-al-Madfa'i in November 1933. Resigned in February 1934, but returned to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in August 1934 under Ali Jaudat's premiership. Resigned with Ali Jaudat in February 1935 but retained the portfolio of Foreign Affairs in the succeeding Cabinet formed by Jamil-al-Madfa'i, and returned again to the Ministry in the Cabinet formed by Yasin Pasha in March 1935.

In October after Bakr Sidqi's successful military revolt, Nuri Pasha, fearing for his life, fled to Egypt with his family, where he carried on a restless negotiation from Cairo to secure his return to Iraq. He came back in October 1937 after the murder of Bakr Sidqi and the fall of Hikmat Sulaiman's Government. He was offered the post of Iraqi Minister in London, but did not accept it. In early December he went to Syria with the intention of working privately for a solution of the problem of the future of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

But for two short visits to Bagdad, Nuri-al-Said spent the whole of the year 1938 outside Iraq, occupied principally in desultory conversations about Palestine with politicians in Syria, Egypt and London. On each of his short visits to Bagdad his presence gave rise to rumours concerning his political intentions, but these died away as soon as he left.

In December 1938 he came back to stay, and a few days later a military demonstration in his favour organised by Taha-al-Hashimi and Husayn Fuzai overthrew Jamil-al-Madfa'i's Cabinet and brought Nuri-al-Said into office as Prime Minister. He represented Iraq at the opening of the London conversations about Palestine in January 1939.

Resigned the premiership in February 1940, but at the Regent's request reformed his Cabinet and continued in office until the end of March when, with his own collaboration, a new Cabinet was formed by Rashid Ali.

Remained in office as Minister for Foreign Affairs until the end of January 1941, when he and several of his colleagues resigned because of Rashid Ali's increasing inclination towards the Axis. In April, shortly before Taha-al-Hashimi's Cabinet was overthrown by Rashid Ali and the army, Nuri Said wisely withdrew to Transjordan, where he remained until he was able to come back with the Regent at the beginning of June. Before the end of the month he was appointed Iraqi Minister in Cairo, but was recalled to form a Cabinet on the resignation of Jamil Madfa'i at the beginning of October 1941. From that time onwards he collaborated closely with His Majesty's Ambassador in broadcasting pro-Nazi propaganda in Iraq and it was due to his initiative that Iraq declared war on the Axis Powers in January 1943.

In the summer of 1943 Nuri Pasha visited Egypt to discuss Arab unity with the Egyptian Prime Minister Nadim Pasha. He also went to Syria and Palestine for talks with Arabs there. He remained Prime Minister throughout 1943, but there were many changes in his Cabinet, and he formed his ninth Government on the 25th December, 1943.

Resigned in June 1944 with his whole Cabinet after an unedifying brawl in the Chamber between some of his supporters and the Opposition, which convinced him that he did not enjoy the Regent's confidence and support. In any case he was tired and needed a rest. Accompanied the Regent on his

travels in America and Europe during the summer of 1945.

In July 1945 he was elected President of the Senate.

In April 1946 he negotiated a treaty between Iraq and Turkey covering economic and commercial matters but the Tawfiq Suwaidi Cabinet which had come into power during the negotiations wished to recall him on the ground that he had gone too far. When he returned he contrived, with his usual ability to have all his actions sanctioned retrospectively, and the treaty was accepted.

During the summer he went to London with the Regent and then returned to Syria and Turkey in the hope of arranging an understanding, and perhaps a treaty, between the two countries.

He refused to represent Iraq at the Palestine conference partly through jealousy of Azzam and partly because, having been one of the negotiators who obtained the 1939 White Paper, he feels it beneath his dignity to attend a conference whose *point de départ* is its abrogation.

Nuri Pasha is still amazingly youthful and vigorous, both in mind and body, and is likely to remain for some years one of the few Arab statesmen with an international outlook and an international reputation.

He again became Prime Minister after the collapse of the Cabinet of Arshad-al-Umari in the autumn of 1949. In this position he missed no opportunity to declare that the long-postponed elections would be free and neglected no step to ensure the return of his and the Palace's nominees. Still incomparably the ablest Iraqi politician, he has gained no affections from the others by this display of his superiority in intrigue and manipulation.

He refused to form the new Government himself on grounds of health, but was thought by many, not altogether correctly, to be the real power in Saleh Jabr's Government.

He accompanied His Royal Highness on his European trip and was selected to represent Iraq at the U.N.O. General Assembly on Palestine.

He was a member of the Iraqi delegation which signed the Portsmouth Treaty and shared with Saleh Jabr the Nationalist rage which this treaty inspired. He spent the first six months of 1948 in Turkey. He has not forgiven the Regent for his part in the events which led to the rejection of this treaty but remains a loyal supporter of the House of Hashim.

Formed his tenth Government in January 1949. He succeeded in improving public security and in withdrawing the army from Palestine without incident. He took a very firm line with the Communist organising committees, four members of which were hanged. Made a personal visit to London in July 1949 to try to obtain financial assistance. Since the Zaim coup he has been much taken up with the project for Iraqi-Syrian union, which is very near his heart. He failed to secure an understanding with Zaim, but developed close connexions with the Syrian Government after the second coup of 1949.

107. Rafail Petrus Butti

Born Mosul 1901. Christian. Journalist and editor. Educated at the Syrian Orthodox School, Mosul, and at a secondary school in Bagdad, he graduated from the Law College after extra-mural studies in 1929. He entered Government service as a clerk in the Ministry of Interior on the recommendation of Razzaq Ghannam, for whose paper *El Iraq* he contributed articles. He himself also published a weekly magazine *El Huriyah* which was violently anti-British but which also criticised the Administration for subservience to the British Advisory and Inspectorate staffs. There is no doubt that he received encouragement and support for this

as part of the general propaganda campaign for the termination of the Mandate. He over-stepped the mark in 1927 when, after a particularly venomous attack on the British Inspector-General of Police, British policy and the Government, he was dismissed. Within a few weeks, however, he was given a better job in the Ministry of Interior as Translator. Here he was comparatively safe. He remained so employed until he graduated from the Law College when he resigned and in partnership with Jebrun Melkon published *El Bilad*. Until the conclusion of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty he backed his patron, Nuri al Said; then he switched over to Nuri Pasha's chief opponent, Yasin Pasha al Hashimi and the Hizb al Ikha al Watani and became a constant and bitter critic of Nuri and his pro-British policy. This was his first change of alignment: there were others, viz., 1921-23, Nuri al Said, 1923-29, mainly Nuri al Said, but occasionally al Hashimi. 1930-35, Yasin al Hashimi and Rashid Ali. 1936-37, Bakr Sidqi. 1937, he loaned to Jamil Madfa'i after the murder of Bakr Sidqi but al Madfa'i would have nothing to do with him and, when his paper became abusive, suppressed it for a year. 1938-42, Rashid Ali. 1942-43, Interned. 1943-45, Rashid Ali when he dared. 1946, anti-British.

He has been a Deputy on two occasions, first in 1935 for Mosul and secondly in 1939 for Basra. He was rabidly anti-British both in Parliament and in his paper but his seat in Parliament protected him until July 1942 when in a clear up of probable Fifth Columnists he was interned. Within a short time he whined, said he repented his folly and asked for release. In spite of every opposition he was released in July 1943, but on conditions. These he respected, more or less, and in January was permitted to restart publication of *El Bilad*. Censorship prevented a good deal, but the cloven-hoof showed occasionally and called forth reprimands. As soon as the war ended and the internment camp was cleared, he came forth with all his old-time venom. Recently, for reasons at present unknown, he suddenly removed himself to Egypt whence he wrote saying that he intended to take up permanent residence in that country. His wife sold up the house and furniture and has joined him. He still owns *El Bilad* although he has for the moment leased it at a monthly rental of ID. 25 or ID. 30.

Butti is probably the most capable of the Iraqi journalists and is curiously fearless in his comments. Since he first came to notice he has been bitterly anti-British and anti any Government or Politician whom he considers to be in any way favourable to Britain or British policy. It has been suggested that this is a phobia the result of extreme disappointment at not obtaining preferment as a Christian on the occupation by British forces. This has been observed, although in a lesser degree, in other Christians—particularly of Mosul—of about his age.

The real reason for his presence in Egypt is as yet unknown, but it has been suggested that it is not unconnected with Iraqi interests in the Arab League.

It is probable that he could be induced to support any policy for a consideration.

He returned to Iraq early in 1948 and became a Deputy for Bagdad in the June elections of that year. A member of the Iraqi delegation to the Rome Inter-Parliamentary Conference of 1948.

108. Rashid Ali-al-Ghani

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1892. A distant relation of the Naqib. In Turkish times was a clerk in the Waqt Department. Fled to Mosul with the Turks on the capture of Bagdad, and after the fall of Mosul practised as a lawyer. In May 1921 he was appointed a judge in the Court of Appeal. His work as a judge won him the good opinion of his advisers. Was

appointed Minister of Justice in Yasin Pasha's Cabinet in 1924. Resigned over the signing of the Turkish Petroleum Company's Concession in March 1925, which, at Yasin Pasha's instigation, he strongly opposed. Became Minister of Interior in the second Saduniyah Cabinet in June 1925, but resigned almost immediately on being elected President of the Chamber of Deputies. From November 1926 to January 1928 was Minister of the Interior. Re-elected to the Chamber of Deputies in the general election of 1930, but resigned his seat in March 1931, in company with Yasin-al-Hashimi, Najj-al-Suwaidi and Ali Jaudat, as a protest against the conduct of Nuri Pasha's Government. Became a prominent leader of the Hizb-al-Ikha-al-Watani (the party of National Brotherhood). He encouraged the general strike in July 1931, hoping thereby to embarrass Nuri Pasha's Cabinet. Appointed chief private secretary to the King in July 1932. Became Prime Minister in March 1933. Resigned October 1933. Appointed Senator in summer of 1934. Helped to organise the disturbances on the Euphrates which forced Ali Jaudat to resign in March 1935 and, as Minister for the Interior, joined the Cabinet then formed by Yasin-al-Hashimi.

After Bakr Sidqi's military revolt against the Hashimite Cabinet in October 1936, Rashid Ali fled to Constantinople. He came back in October 1937.

During 1938 he made several speeches in the Senate attacking the policy of Jamil-al-Madfa'i's Cabinet.

Deported to Anah December 1938. Returned a few days later when Nuri-al-Said succeeded Jamil-al-Madfa'i as Prime Minister. Appointed chief private secretary to the Palace in January 1939, and remained in this post after King Ghazi's death in April 1939. Became Prime Minister in March 1940.

Throughout 1940 he moved steadily towards a break with His Majesty's Government and a closer understanding with the Axis. He refused to break off diplomatic relations with Italy when Italy entered the war, but remained in the closest personal contact with the Italian Legation. He also gave full support to the Mufti's intrigues with the Axis Governments and sponsored the overtures which Naji Shawkat made to the German Minister at Angora in October 1940. In Iraq he gave free rein to the Palestinian agitators and to the pro-Nazi elements of the Press, even allowing it to be stated officially that the policy of his Government was one of strict neutrality in the war in spite of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of Alliance. Pressure from the embassy forced his resignation at the end of January 1941, but he returned to office by means of a military coup d'Etat on the 1st April. He then set aside the Regent and installed Sharif Sharaf in his place. At this juncture, as part of their war plan, His Majesty's Government began to move troops into Iraq, but Rashid Ali, backed by the army, refused to agree to the presence of more than one brigade.

At the beginning of May the Iraqi army attempted to surround the British air base at Habbaniyah and hostilities broke out. Throughout the month Rashid Ali and his colleagues endeavoured to unite the country in a campaign against us, but, though the townspeople were with him, he received little support from the big tribes and fled to Persia after a comparatively small British column had defeated the far larger Iraqi forces opposed to them. From Persia he contrived to make his way to Turkey, and in December, having broken his parole, he escaped to Germany and joined the Mufti in Berlin, where he became a feature of the Berlin Arabic broadsheet. Tried in *absentia* by court martial and sentenced to death in January 1942.

Throughout the years 1942-44 he continued to conduct an active campaign against Great Britain from Berlin and Rome and was recognised by the

Axis as the legitimate Prime Minister of Iraq. It is now known that the struggle for predominance between him and the Mufti led to a split in the ranks of the Arab traitors. When in London the Regent reiterated his determination that when caught he would be executed.

When the Germans realised that the end was near they offered to fly him to Egypt. He said he preferred Saudi Arabia but the Germans said they could not fly him so far. He therefore was taken through the German lines in a car and went to the Tyrol, thence through Austria to Prague where two Syrian friends gave him a passport. Apparently with the unwitting assistance of American, British and French military transport he finally arrived at Marseilles and thence sailed to Beirut. On the morning of the 24th September, 1945, he arrived in Riyadh in disguise. When he declared himself Ibn Saud gave him asylum. This at once precipitated a crisis in Saudi-Iraqi relations and there were many acrimonious and futile interchanges between Ibn Saud and the Regent. The Prime Minister, Hamdi Pashachi, insisted on regarding it as a personal matter and not a political one involving the two countries. The Regent was finally persuaded to accept this view and seems now overtly reconciled to Rashid Ali's continued presence in Riyadh. Covertly, however, there is no doubt that he harbours this additional grudge against Ibn Saud.

There has been a press campaign recently in his favour in Egypt and various requests for his pardon have been forwarded to the Regent. Reports indicate that he is recognised by the Iraqi Istiqlal Party as their leader.

Ibn Saud is now anxious to be rid of his presence at Riyadh, but a proposal by King Abdullah for his removal to Transjordan has been vetoed by the Regent.

109. Rashid-al-Khojah

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1884. Staff officer in Turkish army. Came to Damascus after the armistice. Prominent member of the Ahd-al-Iraqi. He returned to Bagdad in November 1920 and was appointed mutessarif in January 1921. He is weak and much under the thumb of the extreme National group. In February 1922 he was appointed mutessarif of Mosul, where he was completely under the influence of Mustafa Sabunji. As his presence in a frontier division was considered inexpedient by the Iraqi Government, he was removed and reappointed mutessarif of Bagdad. Appointed Iraqi Consul-General at Cairo October 1928, and Director-General of Education January 1930. Consul-General, Beirut, August 1931. Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General at Jeddah, August 1933, but did not take up post. Appointed Minister for Defence under Naji Shaakat, November 1932. Resigned with Naji Shaakat's Cabinet in March 1933. Elected President of the Chamber of Deputies November 1933 after resignation of Jamil-al-Madfa'i. Reappointed Minister of Defence in February 1934. Reappointed with Jamil-al-Madfa'i's Cabinet in August 1934. Re-elected President of the Chamber in December 1934. Again appointed Minister for Defence in Jamil-al-Madfa'i's Cabinet in March 1935, but resigned with the whole Cabinet after being only twelve days in office. Elected to the Chamber in August 1935 and joined the Opposition led by Jamil-al-Madfa'i. Appointed principal private secretary in the Palace in September 1937.

Appointed Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs by Nuri-al-Said's Cabinet in January 1939.

Placed on pension in the autumn of 1941.

110. Rauf-al-Bahrani

A Shi'ah of Bagdad, born about 1897. Graduated at the Bagdad Law School and was appointed to a clerical post in the Ministry of Finance, where he rose to be Accountant-General (not altogether by merit). Appointed Minister for Finance in Yasin Pasha's Cabinet in March 1935.

Resigned October 1935.

Appointed Director-General of Customs and Excise, January 1938. Became Minister of Finance in February 1940 and of Social Affairs in March.

Resigned with Rashid Ali and his Cabinet in January 1941 and joined Rashid Ali's rebel Government in April 1941. Fled to Tehran when British troops approached Bagdad towards the end of May 1941 and was arrested by the British forces which occupied Persia in August. After a period of detention at Ahwaz he was sent to Southern Rhodesia in December 1941 to be interned. Sent back for trial in March 1944 and in August 1944 condemned to three years' hard labour and sequestration of all his property.

Since his release has occupied himself in business.

111. Rauf-al-Chadirchi

Sunni of Bagdad. He was Mayor of Bagdad at the time of the cutting of New Street and earned a great deal of personal unpopularity thereby. Left for Berlin shortly before the occupation, and subsequently went to Switzerland, returning to Bagdad in the summer of 1920, up to which time permission to return had been refused him. Speaks French, English and German well. He set up practice as a barrister and consorted much with British officials. He took no part in the Nationalist agitation; nevertheless, when his father was deported to Constantinople in August, he was asked to return with him. He came back in 1921 and resumed his legal work without taking any part in politics. He has most of the business of foreign firms in his hands owing to his knowledge of English. He was in England on a visit during the summer of 1923, returning home in September. A retiring man of modernist opinions. Deputy for Hillah in the Constituent Assembly in March 1924. He was strongly opposed to the passage of the treaty without amendments and voted against it. Chosen director of the Law School August 1924. Minister of Finance, Second Saduniyah Cabinet, and afterwards became Minister of Justice in Jafar Pasha's Cabinet in November 1926. Iraqi Minister to Angora autumn 1929. Resigned post as Minister at Angora in December 1930, and returned to Bagdad as legal adviser to the Iraq Petroleum Company.

Appointed Iraqi Minister in London in December 1935, and proceeded to his post early in 1937. Resigned March 1940 and remained in England, where he has a well-paid post with the Iraq Petroleum Company.

A cultured, likeable and intelligent man.

He generally spends a few of the winter months in Bagdad.

112. Rauf-al-Kubaisi

Sunni; of Kubaisah origin. Born 1885. He was commandant of gendarmerie in Aleppo under Jafar Pasha in 1919 and did useful work in keeping order before the advent of the French in July 1920. Refused office under the French and returned to Bagdad in February 1921. He was appointed Kuilmakam of Suq in November 1921, but was removed in June. He then for a time joined the extreme Nationalist group in Bagdad. Appointed Director-General of Prisons in 1924 and subsequently played no part in politics. Appointed Mutessarif of Basra January 1930. Dismissed for incompetence. April 1931. Appointed Director-General of Auqaf in

summer of 1933, and Director-General of Census in November 1937.

Mutessarif of Bagdad November 1938 and Director-General of Auqaf April 1939. Resigned June 1940.

Reappointed Director-General of Auqaf in November 1941 by Nuri Said.

113. Razzuq Ghannam

Doyen of Bagdad journalists. Owner of *Al Iraq*. A Christian. Pro-British; backer of Nuri Said. He is a Deputy for Bagdad. At one time he employed Rafael Butti, but soon fired him when he realised his true feelings. Pan-Arabist. According to a speech he made while a Deputy, he had no time for those who supported the merchants and landowners at the expense of the people. "Parliaments were not collected for the protection of the profiteers and opportunists." Invited to visit Britain as one of the delegation of Iraqi journalists, autumn 1945, but refused on the grounds of ill-health. He holds rather woolly views on political theory, but is sincere and means well. Speaks good English. Recently his newspaper has been losing ground. It comes out only two or three times a week and circulation is said to be only about 300. He apparently does not depend on his journalism for a living as he has a large house and his daughters, who are progressive and modern, take a prominent part in the social life of Bagdad.

114. Sabih Najib

Born 1892. Gazetted to the Turkish army in 1912. Joined Iraqi army 1921, and reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel 1929. Passed a staff course in England, and for some time was Commandant of the Iraqi Staff College in Bagdad. Speaks English and French and some German. Appointed Director-General of Police in March 1931. Represented Iraq on the Syrio-Iraq Frontier Delimitation Commission in 1933. Appointed counsellor, Berlin, June 1935. Transferred to Geneva as Iraqi delegate to the League of Nations in November 1935.

He was appointed Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in December 1937, with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary.

Made Minister for Defence in October 1938. Resigned with the whole Jamil-al-Madfa'i Cabinet the 25th December, 1938.

Tried by court-martial in February 1940 for being an accessory to the murder of Rustam Haider, Minister of Finance. Acquitted on this charge and sentenced to one year's imprisonment for having used insulting language when speaking of the Government at a semi-public gathering. Was pardoned by the Regent after serving only a few weeks of his sentence.

Appointed Iraqi Minister at Angora in December 1941.

Relieved of his appointment in February 1943 and now seems to be living on his pension in Turkey. Was retired from the service in August 1944.

115. Sadiq-al-Bassam

Shi'ah of Bagdad. Born 1895. Graduated at the Bagdad Law School, and for several years practised as a lawyer. Deputy for Kut 1930-34. In the Chamber he gave steady support to Yasin Pasha, and was a member of the Ikha-al-Watani party. In June 1935, as a reward for his political services, he was appointed Director-General of Government Lands and Properties in the Ministry of Finance, and became Minister of Education in Yasin Pasha's Cabinet in September 1935. Resigned in October 1936.

Elected Deputy for Kut December 1937 and for Bagdad in June 1939. Became Minister of

Economics in September 1939. Joined the Cabinet formed by Rashid Ali in March 1940 as Minister of Education.

Resigned with the whole Cabinet in January 1941. Throughout the disturbances of 1941 he remained inactive and was made Minister of Justice in Nuri Said's Cabinet in October 1941.

Resigned February 1942.

Appointed an unofficial member of the Board of Education in April 1943.

Appointed Minister of Communications and Works in December 1943. Resigned with the whole of Nuri Said's Cabinet in June 1944.

A Senator since February 1941, he was one of Salih Jabr's principal critics in the Upper House in the Extraordinary Session of 1947.

He joined the Sadr Cabinet of January 1948 as Minister of Finance and was also a member of the succeeding Cabinet of Muzahim Pashachi, this time as Minister of Defence. He accompanied the Prime Minister to the Arab League meeting which accepted the cease-fire order of the Security Council in June 1948.

Resigned in September 1948 owing to differences with the Prime Minister about the operation of the courts martial, which were being used under his direction to persecute Jews and others suspected of sympathy with Israel.

116. Said Haqqi

Born 1883. A Kurd from Sulaimaniyah and a former Turkish army officer, commissioned from the Constantinople Military School in 1903. He joined the Iraqi army on its formation and became at one time Director of Administration in the Ministry of Defence. He reached the rank of colonel, resigning from the army as a result of a disagreement with Taha Pasha al Hashimi, then Chief of General Staff. He has subsequently held posts as Director-General Jails, Director of Civil Aviation and finally Keeper of the Privy Purse at the Palace. He leads a quiet life and politically and socially is almost unknown. Appears friendly disposed to the British, but speaks no English.

Became Minister of Defence in the al Umuri Cabinet of June 1946 while retaining his post as Keeper of the Privy Purse.

117. Salih Jabr, K.B.E.

Shi'ah lawyer of Najaf, born about 1890. Employed for some time as a judge. Elected Deputy February 1930 and resigned from the bench. Acquired notoriety in the Chamber as a persistent asker of questions and ready speaker. Appointed Minister for Education under Jamil Madfa'i November 1933. Resigned February 1934. Elected Deputy for Muntafiq December 1934. Appointed Mutessarif of Karbala in April 1935, where he proved successful. In October 1936 he accepted the portfolio of Justice in Hikmat Sulaiman's Cabinet. Resigned in June over the Euphrates disturbances and went away for several months. He returned when Jamil-al-Madfa'i formed a Cabinet and was appointed Director-General of Customs and Excise.

Became Minister for Education in Cabinet formed by Nuri-al-Said in December 1938. Elected for Diwaniyah June 1939. Minister for Social Affairs in February 1940. Resigned in March 1940.

Appointed Mutessarif of Basra in June 1940. Supported the Regent when His Royal Highness fled to Basra in April 1941 to escape from Rashid Ali and the "Golden Square." For this he was arrested and narrowly escaped a heavy sentence. He was in the end released on condition that he left the country. He withdrew to Tehran and returned in June 1941 after the fall of Rashid Ali. Appointed Minister of Interior and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Cabinet formed by Nuri Said in October 1941.

Appointed Minister of Finance in October 1942 with the special task of finding solutions for the country's economic difficulties.

Did not come up to expectations and in June 1943 he was returned to the Interior. Resigned from the Cabinet in October 1944.

Joined the Cabinet of Hamdi al-Pachachi as Minister of Finance in June 1944. Took on portfolio of Defence in August 1944 when Taha Ali refused to dismiss senior officers as part of the scheme for reorganising the army, but in the reshuffled Cabinet he took up Supplies, only to hand them over in December 1944 and return to Finance. During the absence of Hamdi Pachachi, the Premier, he acted for him. When the Pachachi Cabinet fell it was expected that Saleh Jabr, who was one of the Ministers who accompanied the Regent to the Amman Conference, might become the first Shia Prime Minister. He was not chosen, however. He spent much of the summer of 1946 in England, where he had gone for treatment for an arm which had been broken in a motor accident on his return from Amman.

He is undoubtedly the leading Shia statesman and has shown himself to be a good friend of Britain, though a hard bargainer for the interests of his country. Unfortunately, Shia opinion is by no means all behind him, particularly the tribes from the Middle Euphrates. This is largely due to his wife, who is a strong-minded tribal woman of Hillah who causes her husband and others much trouble by interfering in politics.

Treated K.B.E. for war services, in 1946.

He formed a Government after the elections of March 1947 and presented an ambitious programme, largely concerned with economic development, to the Majlis on 10th April.

As Prime Minister he showed himself capable, energetic, dictatorial and secretive. He fought stoutly for Iraq's interests in the Portsmouth Treaty negotiations but his handling of his own colleagues and of the internal situation in Iraq was inept.

He tried hard to persuade the Arab League to impose oil sanctions on the Americans as a reprisal for their pro-Zionist policy, his failure to do so lost the Arabs their last chance of preventing a Zionist solution in Palestine.

He failed to take sufficiently seriously the steady deterioration of the economic situation in Iraq during his term of office. He directed his energies to foreign policy and to economic long-range planning, while neglecting the very necessary short-term economic measures required. It was shortage of bread and rising prices more than anything else which enabled his enemies to unseat him and reject his treaty.

118. Salih Saib

Born 1898, a Sunni Muslim of the Jubur tribe of Northern Iraq. Commissioned 1916 in the Turkish Army, transferred to the Iraqi Army in 1921 and appointed an instructor at the Small Arms School, Bagdad. During this appointment he attended a small arms course at Hythe. Subsequently he attended courses at the Iraqi Staff College and later at the British Staff College at Camberley. A personal friend of General Bakr Sidqi, whose coup d'état he supported in 1930. After the assassination of Bakr Sidqi he was retired from active service and appointed Assistant Director-General of the Iraqi State Railways. After 1941 he rejoined the army and was appointed G.O.C. 3rd Division. In 1944 he was appointed Chief of the General Staff, which appointment he still holds. Promoted lieutenant-general in 1945 and general in 1949.

He neither drinks, smokes nor gambles, and is said to be just and honest. He is, however, a stupid man

with little professional skill and his impotence as a leader was displayed in the Palestine campaign in 1948.

119. Salman-al-Shaikh Daud

Sunni. Born Bagdad about 1900. Son of Sheikh Ahmad-al-Sheikh Daud (q.v.).

A lawyer with a large practice and a forceful personality. Given to women and drink, but a staunch supporter of democracy. He was the first person of note in Iraq who openly and independently attacked the Axis in speeches and press articles.

Elected a Deputy in October 1943 and was prominent in debates as a critic of Nuri Pasha's Government. Arab News Agency representative, for which he is very well paid. Visited Britain as a member of the Iraqi journalists' delegation, autumn 1945.

Wealthy, generous and good company, but a lightweight politically. Speaks French, but almost no English.

Deputy for Diyala in the 1947 and 1948 Parliaments.

120. Sami Fattah

Born 1905 in Mosul, he is of Kurdish origin. Educated in Bagdad and was for some years a teacher in Iraqi schools. Joined the army in 1925 and after passing through the Military College in Bagdad he went to Sandhurst in 1926. Commissioned in the Iraqi army in 1928, he was attached to the newly formed Royal Iraqi Air Force and returned to England for training in Royal Air Force schools. Graduated from the Iraqi Staff College in 1937 and appointed commander of the Royal Iraqi Air Force in 1941.

He is energetic, jovial and has a good sense of humour. A good disciplinarian and one of the best leaders that the Iraqi army has. He speaks English well.

During 1946 he was sent to Europe by the Iraq Government on a secret arms purchasing mission. This mission was a complete failure and after some months Sami Fattah returned to his appointment as O.C., R.I.A.F., where he has made every effort to improve the standard of training and equipment.

121. Sami Shaukat

Born Bagdad 1893. Sunni. Brother of Naji Shaukat. Graduated at Military College of Medicine, Constantinople, 1916. Joined the Arab army in Syria in 1919. Appointed to Iraqi Health Service 1921 and subsequently served for several years as Director-General of Education. Became Director-General of Public Health in 1930. An ardent Arab Nationalist.

Appointed Director-General of Education in March 1939. He did much to increase military education in the secondary schools. Became the first Minister for Social Affairs in September 1939 and Minister for Education in February 1940. Resigned in March with whole Cabinet and was reappointed Director-General of Education in April 1940.

Retained his position throughout the disturbances of 1941 and survived subsequent changes. Is believed by many to have had pro-German leanings, but he himself stoutly denied these allegations. However this may be, he has done little himself to eradicate pro-Nazi sentiment from the Iraqi education system.

Appointed Director-General of Social Affairs and Health in January 1943.

Resigned and started the newspaper *Baath al Qatani* ("National Resurrection") in the autumn of

1945. It was extremely nationalistic, anti-Communist and anti-British. In tone it somewhat resembled *Die Stürmer*. Fortunately it kept falling foul of the Government and was suspended for a year in the summer of 1946. Since then little or nothing has been heard from Shaukat and his followers.

Speaks Arabic and Turkish but no English. A buffoon, but potentially dangerous through his influence on young fanatics.

Formed a political party, *Islah* (Reform), in the autumn of 1949.

122. Selim Terzi, O.B.E.

Born Bagdad 1899. Jew. Educated at the Alliance School, Bagdad, he entered the Posts and Telegraphs Department and has remained there until he became acting Director-General. Presumably his religion has prevented his permanent promotion, as twice or thrice completely unfitted incumbents have held the post, e.g., an eye specialist, London-trained, and an unwanted official from the Royal Bilat.

Like most Jews in Iraq he has never been involved in any form of politics, nor has he expressed any strong political convictions. Is a quiet, decent and capable man and co-operated wholeheartedly with the British forces (for which he was made an O.B.E. in 1946). It was the Government policy that this should be, but he added the personal touch which made the co-operation successful.

He and his wife speak good English.

Left Iraq early in 1948 and is remaining away in view of the difficulties which Jews have encountered in Iraq since the outbreak of hostilities with Israel.

123. Shakir-al-Na'ama

Editor and owner of *Al Thaghr*, a Basra paper. A quiet intelligent man with no liking for the Iraqi methods of administering the supply situation and its attendant corruption. He was, in 1943, involved in a little trouble with the Mutasarrif of the Basra Liwa for publishing articles in his paper criticising the local supply distribution methods. He was told to cease such publications but he asked for such instructions in writing—presumably he would have taken the matter further. The instructions in writing were not forthcoming, but from that time he has been the subject of persecution by the Mutasarrif. A good friend of Britain. Visited Britain as a member of the Iraqi journalists' delegation, autumn 1945, and wrote several glowing articles for his newspaper, *Al Thaghr*, the only regular daily newspaper in the south, has always been pro-British. He speaks good English.

124. Shakir-al-Wadi, M.V.O.

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1894. Brother of Jamil-al-Wadi (q.v.). Served as an officer in the Turkish army from 1915 to the armistice. Joined the Iraqi army in 1921. Captain 1928. In 1929 he was attached for training to various units in England, and in 1930 he was promoted major and made aide-de-camp to King Feisal. He was on King Feisal's staff during His Majesty's State visit to England in 1933. Promoted lieutenant-colonel in 1935 and attended the Staff College course. Returned to Iraq 1936 and was appointed G.S.O. 1 in the Kirkuk Division, of which Bakr Sidqi was the G.O.C. He was right-hand man to Bakr in the military revolt of October 1936. He is intelligent, capable and ambitious. After Bakr Sidqi's murder in August 1937 he was appointed military attaché in London, but a few weeks later he was dismissed and placed on the retired list.

Banished from Bagdad in December 1938 for intrigues against Jamil-al-Madfa'i's Government, but

permitted to return in January 1939 after Nuri-al-Said had formed a Government. Appointed to the Iraqi diplomatic service in June 1939 as second secretary to the Iraqi Legation, Tehran.

At first he seems to have done well and kept in close touch with His Majesty's Legation. Later on, however, he seems to have yielded to the blandishments and bribes of the German Legation and, as chargé d'affaires during April and May 1941, he dutifully carried out instructions sent to him by Rashid Ali's Government. Daud Haidar, who was appointed minister at Tehran in June 1941, was asked to keep a close watch on Shakir.

Appointed consul at Jerusalem in November 1941. Transferred to London in October 1944 as first secretary in order to take charge of the Iraqi Legation during Daud-al-Haidari's absence in Iraq.

Return to Bagdad in October 1946 to become Master of Ceremonies at the Palace.

Minister for Defence in Saleh Jabr's Government formed in March 1947. He owed this position to his close personal friendship with the Regent.

He headed a delegation to London in September 1947 to discuss the supply of arms and equipment to the Iraqi army. Resigned with the Cabinet in January 1948.

Minister of Defence in Nuri Pasha's Cabinet of 1949.

125. Shawkat al Zahawi, Dr.

A Kurd, born in 1898, son of a Turkish army officer by the name of Colonel Abdul Hakim al Zahawi. Educated in Bagdad and Istanbul. In the latter place joined the Military Medical College, and graduated about 1919. He returned to Iraq, and in 1922 joined the Iraqi Health Service. For some time worked as assistant to Dr. Mills; specialises in pathology, has produced several articles on that branch of medicine, and also lectures in the Medical College. He is a cousin of Khalid al Zahawi, Iraqi Minister to Afghanistan, and is related also to the late Jamil Sidqi al Zahawi, famous Iraqi poet. He is married to a daughter of the late Mohammed Fadhil Pasha al Daghistani, and through this marriage therefore has connexions with Hikmet Sulaiman and Najib al Rawi.

Appointed Minister of Social Affairs in April 1940 but resigned with the rest of Tawfiq Suwaidi's Cabinet a month later.

126. Sufuq-al-Ajl

Of the Shammar Jarha tribe. Born about 1910. Educated Beirut University. Once spoke English well, but is forgetting it. Eldest son of Sheikh Ajil-al-Yawar, who became paramount sheikh of the Shammar in Iraq in the early nineteen twenties and died in November 1940. Ajil acquired much money from his relations with the B.O.D. Company and from supplying labour to the railways when the line was extended from Bagdad to Mosul. Sufuq inherited this wealth.

Sufuq's younger brother, Ahmed (born about 1923), is said to have the stronger character and may become influential when he grows a little older.

During the autumn of 1941 some of Sufuq's cousins, led by Mishan-al-Faisal, showed dissatisfaction with Sufuq's leadership, but the quarrel was patched up and the family now accept Sufuq's leadership.

In 1942 he obtained a number of contracts from the British military authorities which increased undesirably Shammar influence. Steps were therefore taken to curtail the number of contracts assigned to him and to check Shammar arrogance. By the middle of 1943 the situation had improved and

Sufuq and his subordinate tribal leaders had become more amenable.

In early 1944 he had a serious quarrel with his younger brother Ahmed about the division of their inheritance from their father Ajil. A settlement was made in May, but its terms were so ambiguous that it is not likely to endure for long. An attempt was made to murder him in June 1944 by putting locusts in his food. His brother Ahmed was suspected of being the author of the plot and while Sufuq was convalescing in Palestine he increased his prestige with the tribe by issuing from the Shaikh's reserves of corn, ghee and sugar to grateful tribesmen. Ahmed has lost no opportunity to undermine Sheikh Sufuq's influence. Flashy, engaging and plausible, he has made himself acceptable to authority, more especially the Regent. Sufuq, who is stabby, selfish and incapable, has with his persecution complex proved a sore trial to the Mosul authorities, who have attempted to sort out his quarrel with Ahmed over the inheritance. Sufuq was detained in August 1945 with the rest of the Shammar Shaikhs in Mosul, for failing to assist the Government effectively to control his tribesmen near the Syrian frontier.

Of the younger brothers, Mish'al, though only 19, is sturdier than either Sufuq or Ahmed.

Sufuq was again arrested in August 1946 for aggression against the Ala Muteiwit.

He was replaced as paramount Shaikh of the Shammar by Mish'al al Faikal in June 1948 on the orders of Mustafa al Umari, but the decision was reversed after Mustafa's departure from Irbil and Sufuq's younger brother Ahmed became paramount Shaikh.

127. Taha-al-Hashimi

Brother of the late Yasin-el-Hashimi. Born 1888. Served in Turkish army and was employed in Arabi and the Yemen during the war. Was given a post on the Turkish General Staff in Constantinople in 1920, but returned to Bagdad in 1922 to join the Iraqi army, and was at once appointed Officer Commanding Troops in Mosul. Appointed Chief of the General Staff and came to Bagdad in 1923. Was attached to Sir Percy Cox in May 1924 for the boundary negotiations with the Turkish Government which followed the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne. The post of Chief of the General Staff was abolished shortly after his return in August 1924, and for a while he acted as tutor to the (then) Crown Prince Ghazi. Appointed Chief of the Census Department in 1926 and Director of Education in 1928. In 1930 he returned as Chief of the General Staff to the Ministry of Defence, and was promoted *faris* (general). In 1931 he visited the Imam Yahya of the Yemen and concluded a treaty of friendship between the Yemen and Iraq.

In September 1935 he was appointed Acting Director-General of Education in addition to his other duties.

He was in Angora in October 1936 when Hikmat Sulaiman and Bakr Sidqi forced Yasin-al-Hashimi to resign and wisely did not return to Iraq. He came back in September 1937 and was offered the post of Director-General of Works. He refused this offer on the ground that it was beneath his dignity to accept any position lower than that of Chief of the General Staff.

Elected Deputy for Bagdad in December 1937. Opposed Jamil-al-Madfa'i's Cabinet in the Chamber. Worked actively on the committee of the Palestine Defence League in 1938. On the 25th December, 1938, in collaboration with General Husain Fauzi, he organised a military demonstration against Jamil-al-Madfa'i's Government, and became Minister for Defence in the Cabinet which Nuri-al-Said formed when Jamil-al-Madfa'i resigned. Became a Deputy

for Bagdad in the elections of June 1939. Retained the portfolio of Defence in the Cabinet formed by Rashid Ali in February 1940.

Resigned in January 1941 with most of the members of Rashid Ali's Cabinet and on the 1st February succeeded the latter as Prime Minister. On assuming office he feebly attempted to break the power of the military clique which during 1940 he and Rashid Ali had allowed to dominate not only the army but the Cabinet. They defied him and overthrew him and his Cabinet after it had enjoyed office for only two months. Taha Pasha thereupon went to Turkey, where he remained throughout Rashid Ali's rebel régime. When the Regent had been restored Taha Pasha wished to return to Iraq, but Nuri Said (the Prime Minister) did not want him back and it was arranged that a transit visa through Syria should be refused.

He was still in Turkey in May 1944.

He now normally resides in Syria and during 1946-47 there were rumours of his being appointed Chief of Staff of the Syrian army. These proved unfounded. During 1948 he was active in unofficial contacts between Syria and Iraq over possibility of union between the two countries.

128. Tahsin Ali

A Sunni Moslem born in Bagdad in 1890. Educated in Bagdad and Istanbul. Participated in the Balkan War, fought against the British at Basra, and after the fall of Bagdad joined King Hussain of the Hejaz. Fought under Faisal and was a brigade commander in the Arab army at Aleppo. Was awarded the M.C. Returned to Bagdad with Faisal and became Secretary to the Defence Ministry. Commandant of Police in Mosul in 1922, he was removed because of his connexions with the Sabunchi faction and transferred to the Dulaim area in 1925. Between 1927 and 1938 held a number of administrative posts, including those of Mutessarif of Mosul and Basra. Director-General of the P.W.D. in 1938. Was largely connected with the activities of the local Palestine Defence Committee while in Basra. Became Mutessarif of Mosul again in April 1939, but was removed by Rashid Ali after his *coup d'Etat* in May. Was restored when the Madfa'i Cabinet was formed in June.

Not particularly clever, and apt to be pig-headed. In Mosul he was too much under local influence and showed a strong prejudice against the Yaxidis. He was slow to take action against Nazi sympathisers and favoured a policy of "appeasement." Appointed Minister of Education in the Cabinet formed by Nuri Said in October 1941.

Transferred to the Palace as Rais of the Royal Diwan in June 1943. Became Minister of Defence in the Cabinet of Hamdi-al-Pashachi in June 1944, where he proved obstructive to the reorganisation of the army. Transferred to Works and Communications in August 1944 and finally dropped from the Cabinet altogether at the end of that month and later became Director-General, Awqaf.

Retired August 1948.

129. Tahsin Qadri, K.C.V.O.

Sunni of Damascus. Born 1893. Was with Faisal in Damascus and accompanied him to Europe in July 1920. Came with him to Bagdad in June 1921, and was appointed an A.D.C. to the King in August. Married the daughter and heiress of Abdul Wahhab Pasha Qartas of Basra. Appointed Master of Ceremonies in the Palace March 1932. Accompanied King Faisal on his State visit to England in 1933 and received the K.C.V.O.

In June 1936 he was compelled to resign from the Palace on account of the scandal of the marriage of Princess Azzah. He was later appointed counsellor

to the Iraqi Legation in Tehran and took up his post in November 1936. Appointed consul-general at Bombay in December 1937. Speaks English and French. Pleasant and clever.

Appointed Director of Ceremonies in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in February 1939. Became consul-general in Beirut in July 1939.

In May 1941, like all Iraqi consuls, he seems to have carried out his orders from Rashid Ali without protest and his behaviour was strongly criticised by the British authorities.

In September 1943 he was appointed chargé d'affaires at Damascus, when the Iraqi Government recognised the new Syrian Government. On the 27th January, 1944, he was accredited as first Iraqi Minister to Syria and the Lebanon to reside at Beirut, where he has been active in Arab Unity affairs, at the same time maintaining close touch with His Majesty's Minister. Recalled early in 1945 and appointed Acting Director-General for Foreign Affairs in the absence of Fadhil-al-Jamali at San Francisco. Appointed minister in Tehran, June 1945, but in September was still in the Lebanon.

In 1946 appointed Iraqi Minister to Paris.

July 1947 he was appointed Master of Ceremonies in the Royal Diwan.

Appointed Iraqi Minister at Tehran in June 1949. This was a purely temporary appointment for the period of the Regent's visit to the Shah. He returned to Iraq in July and has since resumed his duties at the Royal Palace.

130. Talib Mushtaq

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1900. Father was minor official. Took part in the anti-mandate agitation of 1922 and in the spring of 1923 was one of those responsible for anti-British posters issued over the signature of the Supreme Committee of Iraq Secret Societies. Appointed Inspector of Schools in 1924 and held a variety of appointments under the Ministry of Education until November 1931, when he was appointed first secretary to the Iraqi Legation at Angora. Appointed Director of the Consular Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in November 1935. Appointed consul-general at Beirut in August 1937.

Withdrawn and dismissed from the service in February 1938. He remained for a time in Syria, but returned to Bagdad when Nuri-al-Said formed a Cabinet in December 1938. Appointed Accountant-General in January 1939 and Director-General of Propaganda, Publicity and Broadcasting in May 1939. Became consul-general in Jerusalem May 1940.

During May 1941 he carried on an anti-British propaganda campaign and zealously supported Rashid Ali's rebel Government. He was recalled in June and subsequently interned.

He was appointed manager of the Bagdad branch of the Arab Bank in 1945, in which capacity he sought, vainly, for embassy co-operation.

131. Taufiq-al-Suwaidi

Born 1889. Studied law in Bagdad and Constantinople and international law in Paris. In 1913 became first interpreter to the Ministry of Education, Constantinople. Represented Iraq at the Arab Conference held in Paris in July 1913. After the armistice went to Syria and was appointed judge in Damascus. Returned to Bagdad in October 1921 and in November was appointed Assistant Government Counsellor and Director of the Law School. Minister for Education January 1928. Prime Minister 1929. President of the Chamber 1929. Iraqi Minister at Tehran March 1931. Joined Jamil-al-Madfa'i's Cabinet in July 1934 as Minister for Foreign Affairs, but resigned with the whole Cabinet in August.

Held Cabinet office for twelve days as Minister for Justice in Jamil-al-Madfa'i's short-lived Cabinet in March 1935 and in October was appointed Comptroller-General of Accounts. He became Minister for Foreign Affairs in Jamil-al-Madfa'i's Cabinet in August 1937, and headed the Iraqi delegation to the League of Nations in September. There he handled the Assyrian and Palestinian questions with tact and moderation.

Again represented Iraq at the League of Nations in the autumn of 1938, and afterwards visited London as the guest of His Majesty's Government. There he had conversations with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and with the Secretary of State for the Colonies about Palestine.

Resigned with the whole of Jamil-al-Madfa'i's Cabinet on the 25th December, 1938, as the result of a military demonstration made against them. Represented Iraq at the London conversations on Palestine in 1939 after Nuri-al-Said had returned to Iraq.

Joined Taha-al-Hashimi's Cabinet in February 1941 as Minister for Foreign Affairs and did what he could to break up the military clique which during 1940 had established a stranglehold over the Government. Was forced out of office by Rashid Ali's *coup d'Etat* of April 1941. Tried to join the Regent at Basra, but failed. He took no part in the events of May and would have been asked to join Nuri Pasha's Cabinet in October 1941 if the fact that his brother Naji had been summoned to stand his trial for treason had not made it difficult to include him.

He is aggrieved that he has not been appointed to the Senate and blames Nuri Said for his exclusion. He is not well disposed towards the Regent. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to get him into the Cabinet in 1942, but was unsuccessful owing to the exaggerated conditions he sought to make.

In the summer of 1943 he reached an understanding with Ibrahim Kemal to co-operate in political matters. But by the end of the year he was reconciled to Nuri and joined the latter's 9th Cabinet as Deputy Prime Minister in December 1943. He was violently attacked both in Parliament and outside, and the legality of his office was called in question. Resigned in March 1944, when a High Court was appointed to consider the constitutional validity of the appointment of a Deputy Prime Minister. Went to San Francisco Conference. On his return appointed Chairman of the Economic Committee of the Arab League.

Became Prime Minister in February 1946. Resigned May 1946.

Is intelligent and very good company but sly as his nickname ("the red fox") shows. Appointed Senator 2nd July, 1947.

A member of the Iraqi delegation which signed the Portsmouth Treaty, he has since been lying low.

132. Taufiq Wahbi Maroof, C.B.E.

Kurd, born Sulaimania 1887. Educated Sulaimania and Turkey. Graduated from Turkish Military College in 1904, and thereafter served in many military stations in European Turkey. During the war 1914-18, he held a regimental command, and later a staff appointment with the 13th Corps, commanded by General Ali Ihsan Pasha.

After the war he returned to Iraq, and entered the Iraqi army. He was appointed Military Adviser and Staff Officer to Shaikh Mahmud in Sulaimania in 1923, but left him when his attitude became pro-Turkish and his conduct impossible. He returned to Bagdad and re-entered the army, and with the rank of colonel became Commandant of the Military College, Bagdad. In 1929 he was sent on a course to the United Kingdom.

In April 1930 he was appointed as Mutesarrif of Sulaimania, but lasted only until July, when as the result of election troubles he was removed.

For several years he remained unemployed, but ultimately obtained appointment to the post of Director-General of Surveys. After the conclusion of the operations against Rashid Ali, Taufiq Walibi resigned from Government service, took pension and made a comfortable fortune as a contractor for the British forces.

In June 1944 he was appointed Minister of Economics in Hamdi Pashachi's Cabinet, in which capacity he has toured the north to investigate possible relief and developments. It was largely owing to his initiative that the Director of the Sudan Forestry Service was engaged to prepare a comprehensive survey of the economic possibilities of forestry in Kurdistan. To the young Kurdish nationalists and hot-heads he pleads moderation and gradualism, but his influence on them is not effective.

Taufiq Walibi is keenly interested in Kurdish culture, and has devoted much time to modernising the Kurdish language. He has given valuable help to the Information Department of the embassy in the production of propaganda in Kurdish.

A charming and cultivated man who speaks good English, Persian and Turkish. Created C.B.E., for war services, in 1946. Minister for Education in Salih Jibr's 1947 Cabinet.

Resigned with the Cabinet in January 1948.

133. Thabit Abdul Nur

Born 1900. Son of Aziz Abdul Nur, a prominent Jacobite Christian of Mosul. He was christened Nikole. Was an officer in the Turkish army, embezzled money and fled to Syria to join Sherifian cause. At this time he changed his name to Thabit, became a Moslem and performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. Came to Bagdad in November 1921 and became prominent in extreme Nationalist politics. Elected Deputy for Mosul in general election of 1930, and appointed Director of Oil Affairs in the Ministry of Economics and Communications in June 1931. The post was abolished in March 1933. Tried in 1932 for misappropriating the funds of the Agricultural Exhibition (April 1932), but acquitted.

Appointed counsellor in the Iraqi Legation in London December 1933. This post was abolished and he was appointed Iraqi Oil Representative in London in July 1934. Appointed Director of Oil Affairs in the Ministry of Economics and Communications in June 1935. His post was abolished in November 1936, and he remained without employment until December 1937, when he was appointed to the Iraqi Diplomatic Service.

Early in 1938 he was appointed Iraqi Chargé d'Affaires at Jeddah. There he put forward a number of fantastic proposals to the Saudi Arabian Government for which he had been given no authority by the Iraqi Government. The Saudi Government soon detected the folly of his schemes and gave up taking him seriously. In December 1938 and January 1939 he was in Sanaa visiting the King of the Yemen.

He was on leave in Germany on the outbreak of war in September 1939 and chose to remain there rather than return to Iraq. It is believed that he helped in the preparation of Arabic broadcasts from Berlin.

He is now living in retirement at Lausanne and has shown no sign of wishing to return to Iraq.

134. Umar Nazmi

Kurd. Born Kifri 1898. Graduated at the Bagdad Law College 1913. Appointed Judge, Khaniqin 1913; Baqubah 1914; on the outbreak of the war joined

the Reserve Officers' School and was named Public Prosecutor to the Military Court, Bagdad. Appointed Judge, Civil Courts, Kirkuk 1921; Arbil 1923; Kirkuk 1924; Vice-President, Civil Courts, Mosul 1924; Hillah 1925; President, Civil Courts, Diala; Mutesarrif of Kirkuk Liwa 1927, Mutesarrif of Kut and Basra Liwas; Administrative Inspector 1931; Mutesarrif of Mosul Liwa 1934.

Held other Government posts up to August 1937, when he was made to be Director-General of Revenues. Became a Minister of Economics and Communications in December 1938 in the Cabinet of Nuri al-Said.

Made a Senator April 1939. Minister of Interior in September 1939 and Acting Minister of Justice in February 1940. Joined Rashid Ali's Cabinet in March 1940 as Minister of Communications and Works.

Resigned in January 1941 with most of his colleagues as protest against Rashid Ali's pro-Axis policy.

Since November 1941 he has been an active member of committees in the Senate.

Appointed Minister of the Interior in Nuri Said's Cabinet in December 1943. Resigned with the whole of Nuri Said's Cabinet in June 1944.

Minister of Justice in the Suweidi Cabinet of 1946.

An amiable, unimpressive man.

Minister of Justice in the Sadr Cabinet of January 1948 but resigned shortly after its formation.

Appointed Deputy Prime Minister to Nuri Pasha in March 1949. Acting Minister of Interior September 1949.

135. Yahya Qassim

Age 30. Advocate; ex-Iraq State Railway employee. Is the editor and proprietor of *Al Sha'ah* newspaper. He is a Muslawi and is married to the daughter of Hamdi Effendi, the brother of the ex-chief of the general staff, Amin Zaki Subhani. He is a prominent leader of a growing Socialist movement. Secretary of "Biyoutul-Umma" (Houses of the Nation) Society. He was interested in the publishing of a secret Radical paper called *Al Sharara*, which ceased publication some time ago.

As a result of his political activities—including the distribution of pamphlets, for which he was arrested and released on bail—the Iraq State Railways Board dispensed with his services. Owing to his discharge from the railway directorate, which, while being an Iraqi Department, has a British director, he was somewhat embittered against the British. He is an active member of a group of advocates known to have advised the Railway Union to strike. He was for a time a member of Kamil Chakirebi's Democratic Party, but resigned following personal differences. He visited Britain with a party of journalists in autumn of 1945, and stayed on in Britain for several months. He was greatly impressed by what he saw, and had the courage to say so when he returned to Iraq. He has become more balanced and mature in the past year. He is personally very friendly with us and has not published any anti-British articles or comments for some time. He is outstanding among the young Socialists. His English is rapidly improving.

The mouth-piece of Salih Jibr, he accompanied the delegation which went to London to negotiate the Portsmouth Treaty.

Spent some time in England in the summer of 1949 acquiring experience on the staff of a provincial newspaper.

136. Yunis Bahri

Born about 1904. Of the Jubur tribe of Mosul. From his early days he has been well known for his unprincipled character and immoral private life.

From 1923 to 1926 he held minor clerical posts in Government offices. In June 1926 he went on a journey round the world and was repatriated destitute from Paris after having served a term of imprisonment for a misdemeanour. Between 1929 and 1933 he travelled in Arab countries, including Tripoli, Tunis and the Hadhranaut, and also Java, India, Afghanistan and Iran. On his return to Iraq he took up journalism and gave his support to extreme nationalism. He also published a newspaper called *Al Uqab*. He was subsidised in 1935-36 to publish articles favouring the Italian conquest of Abyssinia and in 1936 he sold himself to the German Legation. In April 1939 he went to Berlin and soon afterwards became the announcer of the Berlin Arabic broadcast.

In this position he has been very successful, and his broadcasts were a powerful instrument of German propaganda.

In the spring of 1942 he "went off the air" and it is rumoured that he was put into an internment camp in Germany.

Broadcast from Berlin in connexion with the Lebanese crisis of November 1943.

In the autumn of 1945 he was living in Paris, under the name of R. Jabouri, and was in correspondence with former friends in Bagdad.

137. Yusuf bin Saiyid Abdullah el Gailani

Born Bagdad 1907. Muslim. Sunni. Educated Bagdad and at Balliol College, Oxford. After taking his degree he returned to Bagdad in 1934 and was appointed to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Is now, October 1946, Director of the Political Section.

A quiet, well conducted gentleman. Has always been friendly. Has never been reported as being in any way concerned with politics.

Married to Masoodah, daughter of the late Asim al Gailani, who speaks some English and good French and appears, modestly, in mixed society.

Accompanied Nuri Pasha to the meeting of the Arab League in October 1949 and was a member of the Iraqi Delegation to the special Arab League Committee formed to study the proposal for an Arab Collective Security Pact.

138. Yusuf Ghannimah

An intelligent and hardworking Chaldean Catholic of Bagdad; born about 1890. Diminutive and unimpressive, he mixes freely with Moslems and was made Minister for Finance in January 1928, after having shown industry and ability as rapporteur of

the Finance Committee of the Chamber. Has sat in Parliament for Bagdad since the first election. Lost his seat in the Chamber in the general election of 1930, and then began to take part in the activities of the two Opposition parties, the Hizb-al-Watani (Nationalist party) and the Hizb-al-Ikha-al-Watani (the Party of National Brotherhood). Appointed Director-General of Revenues in the Ministry of Finance, December 1932, and Director-General of the Ministry in 1933. Became Minister for Finance in Ali Jaudat's Cabinet in August 1934. Resigned with the whole Cabinet in February 1935. Appointed Director-General of Finance in June 1935.

Appointed general manager of the Agricultural-Industrial Bank in December 1936.

Was made Director-General of Antiquities in November 1941. In July 1944 appointed Director-General of Supplies and President of Post War Planning Committee, and he became Minister of Supplies in November 1944, since when the country has settled down to accepting supply controls and rationing has become more effective in reaching the consumer at the end of the supply line.

Speaks good French and fair English. Minister for Finance in Salih Jibr's 1947 Cabinet. An unimpressive "Yes" man, in poor health.

Resigned with the Cabinet in January 1948.

139. Yusuf Iz-al-Din

Sunni. Son of Ibrahim Pasha, a Kurd of Sulaimani. Born Bagdad 1891. Married to the daughter of Ali Agha of Sulaimani. Owns property in Bagdad, Amara and Sulaimani. Educated locally and entered the civil service in 1918. Graduated at the Law School in 1927. Became a finance inspector in 1928 and was promoted Assistant Director-General of Finance in 1930. Became Director-General of Land Settlement June 1934. Accountant-General June 1935. Appointed Minister of Education in Hikmat Sulaiman's Cabinet in October 1936. He resigned in July 1937 because of his dissatisfaction with the Cabinet's policy on the Euphrates and with Bakr Sidqi's influence over the Prime Minister.

Obituary

Saad Salih, died February 1949.

Salman al Barrak, died February 1949.

Abbas-i-Mahmud Agha, died about 1946.